

TRAVELS

IN

PERU.

BY

EDMOND

TEMPLE.

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VOL. I.







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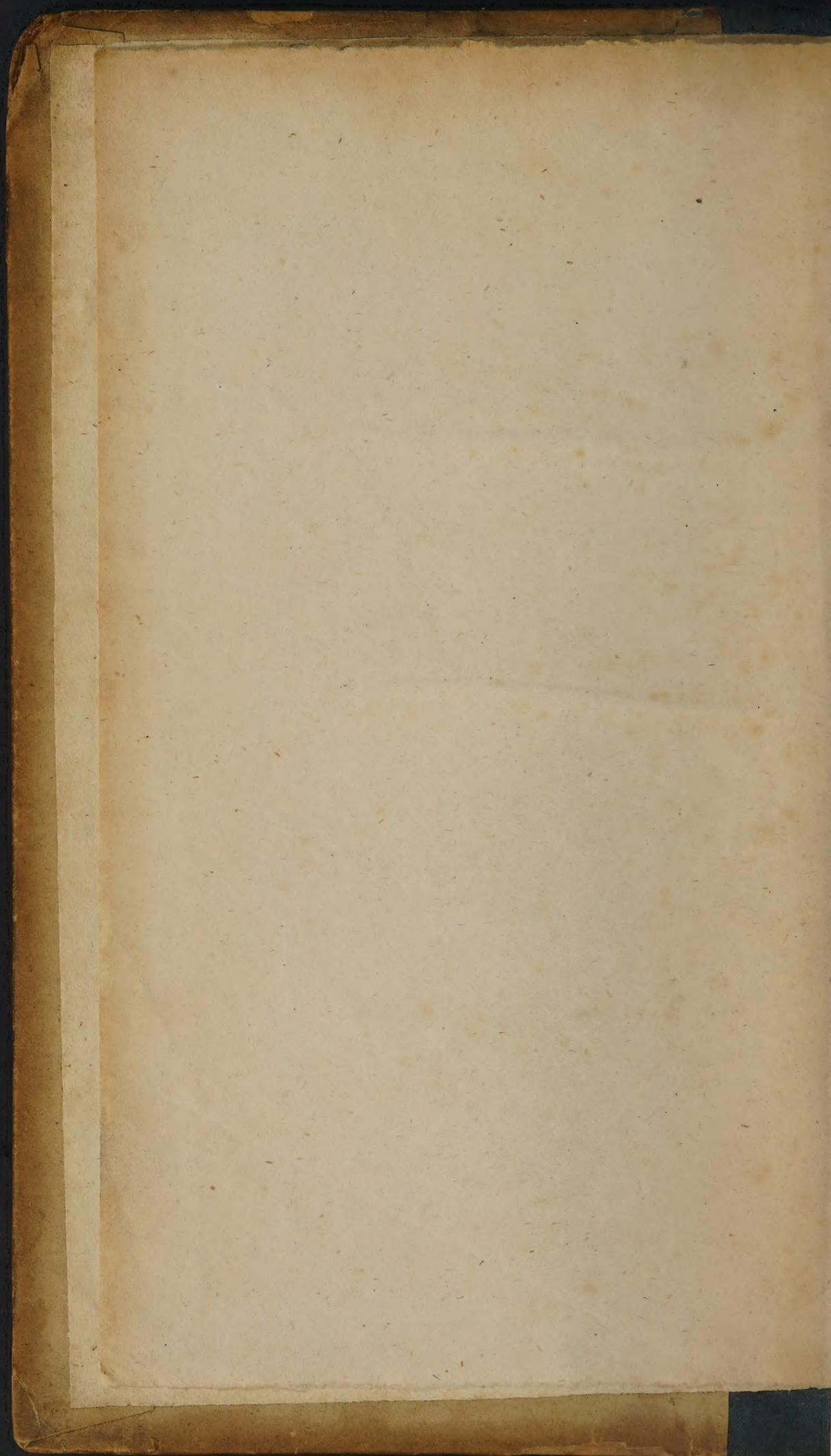
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A TUCUMANO IN FULL DRESS—VOL. I. P. 117.

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TRAVELS
IN
VARIOUS PARTS OF PERU,
INCLUDING A YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN
POTOSI.

BY EDMOND TEMPLE,
KNIGHT OF THE ROYAL AND DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF CHARLES III.

"Five advantages thou wilt at least procure by travelling. Thou wilt have pleasure and profit; thou wilt enlarge thy prospect; cultivate thyself; and acquire friends. *Abukir and Abusir.*"

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E .

The volumes here presented to the public contain notes of any thing and every thing that I either saw, heard, or thought, which appeared to me deserving of insertion in a journal, kept from the period of my leaving England for South America, until my return ; so that—A JOURNAL OF VARIOUS EVENTS AND OCCURRENCES DURING TWO YEARS AND A HALF—would have been the appropriate title ; but, as the most novel, and, I hope it may be found, the most interesting portion of the work relates to excursions in Peru, I have, on that account, been induced to adopt the one which is now prefixed. This, however, imposes on me the necessity not only of bespeaking patience, but of maintaining good humour during a long voyage and a long journey, before I arrive in the ancient territories of the Incas, into which,

from the title page, my readers may probably expect to be at once introduced. Indeed, the fate of any work pretending to entertainment, more than to information, depends, in a great degree, on the good humour and indulgence of the reader ; who, on his part, ought not to expect too much, recollecting that a uniformly agreeable book is almost as rare as a uniformly agreeable companion. “ Vos lectures dans ce genre auraient dû vous persuader que les vrais ouvrages d'agrément sont aussi rares que les gens vraiment aimables.” *

Numerous travellers have written on the present state of South America, and, although I have myself not overlooked existing circumstances, yet, I confess that I have taken greater pleasure in contemplating what that country may, and most probably will become, than in expatiating on subjects of which we have heard so much from others. All the physical elements of greatness there exist, the moral only are what require to be called forth and developed. Under this idea, the views which I have taken of the country and its inhabitants are, for the most part, prospective.

From the nature of my visit to South America, and the situation which I there filled, it can scarcely be expected that I should have alto-

* *D'Alembert, Apologie de l'Etude.*

gether abstained from the trite and somewhat wearisome topic of mines and mining. On that subject I bestowed much attention, and the result of my researches is a firm conviction, confirmed by frequent communication with persons of practical knowledge, that those speculations, if conducted with ordinary prudence, cannot fail of being extremely beneficial; while, under the management of agents of zeal and integrity, possessing activity and decision of character, such as distinguished the chief Commissioner of the Rio de la Plata Company, no loss, certainly none of any importance, can possibly occur to the speculators; because, on the one hand, misappropriation of the funds is not to be apprehended, and, on the other, due vigilance may at all times guard against the consequences of local interruption.

To state that my remarks are generally given as they were noted on the spot, may be a matter of no moment; but it is requisite to observe, that, in preparing them for publication, I have in some few instances arranged them, not in the order in which they were successively made, but according to their connection with, or reference to, the subject which I may be discussing.

A journal of the occurrences of a traveller's life must necessarily exhibit an ever-varying succession of diverse events and subjects: many

of those described in the following pages, I would fain believe, are new, so far as regards publications on South America ; some of them, perhaps, the grave, sober, and plodding traveller, might not have condescended to notice ; still, I cannot but think that what one party (all its members, too, of different countries and pursuits, as were my brother-travellers and myself,) felt deep interest in witnessing, another party may feel some interest in hearing or reading of. How far this opinion is correct in the present instance, I now leave the reader to judge.

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TRAVELS IN PERU.

CHAPTER I.

Formation of the Potosi Mining Association—Departure of the first division of its establishment for Buenos Ayres—Shipwreck of the Prince Ernest packet—Providential escape—Turtle *versus* Dolphin.

One of the nine hundred and ninety-nine speculations of the all-speculating year 1825, was the "Potosi, La Paz and Peruvian Mining Association;" the object of which was to work the far-famed mines of Potosi, and sundry others in Peru. The company commenced its operations for this "*grande et belle entreprise*" (so Baron Humboldt was pleased to term it) upon the extensive and prodigal scale adopted by its sister associations; and, from among a long list of persons selected to fill numerous official situations, at home and abroad, I was appointed to that of secretary to the establishment at Potosi. Never did secretary of the richest treasury in Europe receive his appointment with greater certainty of acquiring fortune than I did, when named chief of the office for registering the treasures to be drawn from the mines of America. My first act was to employ

brokers to buy up *all* the shares that could possibly be procured for *all* the money I had to dispose of in so eligible an investment; but, from the *high* premium they bore in the market, a few hundred pounds went a very short way indeed in the purchase of such valuable property. I had, however, in my run of luck, the good fortune to obtain what I considered sufficient to insure independence, ease, and luxury, which the Latins call "*otium cum dignitate*," to myself and posterity in endless perpetuity!

On the 22d of September, 1825, it was signified at the post office that a packet was appointed to convey the mail and despatches to Buenos Ayres. This usual monthly notice was the signal for the instant departure of the first division of the establishment of the Potosi Mining Association, consisting of General Paroissien, the chief commissioner; Baron de Czettritz, the chief of the mining department; Mr. Scriviner, a young gentleman of the mineralogical department; and your most obedient, &c. &c.; also two domestics, and Carlo, a favourite spaniel.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, orders being issued by the board of directors for our departure, portmanteaus, chests, bags, and boxes, were packed in all the confusion of hurry, and these were again packed *in* and *on* a highly fashionable carriage, provided for our convenience by the Association, together with a quantity of gingerbread nuts and peppermint drops, to comfort us on our journey across the continent of South America. In the outfit of this establishment, no expense was spared that could contribute to the luxury and the dignity of those individuals, who were expected soon to make ample returns of gold and silver in repayment of the expenses that were now so profusely lavished.

We left London at seven in the evening, thereby gaining one hour's start of the mail; and, in order to keep

this advantage, we sent forward to every stage an express to have four horses in readiness, which added considerably to the *eclat* and consequence of the travellers, but tended little to expedite the journey; for the mail overtook us at Exeter, and, from Exeter to Falmouth, it left us full five hours behind; so that, had it not been for an order from the foreign office to detain the packet, we should have arrived at Falmouth—"just in time to be too late!"

But, on stopping at Selly's Hotel, on the evening of the 24th, we were as delighted to see the captain of our packet standing at the door, as he was to see us arrive; for, having laid in an ample sea stock in expectation of us, he began to apprehend the loss of £74 for each cabin passenger, £36 for each steerage passenger, and £30 for our handsome carriage.

We remained at Falmouth Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, which enabled us to make an excursion to the copper mines of Cornwall; a very natural visit for gentlemen of our calling; but every thing, of course, appeared exceedingly mean and inferior to those who were soon to dig and to delve for *gold* and *silver* in the mines of the New World.

For myself, I blush to confess it, I was in a state of the most profound ignorance respecting all that I saw or heard. Smelting, amalgamating, assaying, separating, washing, roasting, crushing, sifting and buddling the ores, was all Greek to me; and when I got home, I recollected nothing except a steam engine, at the Consolidated Mine, said to be, if I mistake not, of between eight hundred and one thousand horse power, capable of pumping up seven hundred and sixty-eight gallons of water in one minute of time, or one million one hundred and five thousand nine hundred and twenty gallons in the

course of twenty-four hours, from a depth of twelve hundred feet.

On the 28th, at eleven o'clock, his majesty's packet brig Frolic fired a gun as a signal of having received the mail and despatches. No time was lost in getting on board, and by one o'clock we were under all sail, running down Channel with a fine fresh breeze from E.S.E.

We found the Frolic fitted up, like all the packets of the same class, with little side berths, several inches wide and a few feet long, large enough for persons of moderate dimensions to stretch and turn in, but rather a tight fit, I guess, for those who pride themselves on their height or magnitude. The height of our state cabin, too, was such as to require great precaution in the exercise of our locomotive powers, and doomed some of my companions to a never ceasing curvature of the body, very different from that pleasing line of beauty which, we are told, is to be found in "the graceful bend."

On the upper deck, large coops, and larger boxes, converted into supernumerary coops, were ranged on each side, crammed with fowls—though the unhappy animals never exhibited the appearance of *crammed fowls* when served at table. From under the forecastle proceeded a melody which apprised us still farther of the provision laid in for our voyage; pigs, geese, ducks, and turkeys, not yet accustomed to their imprisonment, in notes peculiar to themselves, gave *viva voce* evidence of their uneasiness, far exceeding the shouts of the sailors in weighing the anchor and hoisting the sails.

Soon were to be seen "masts, spires, and strand, retiring to the right," and soon were to be seen, retiring to both right and left, my companions and myself, with every particle of our animal spirits in visible dejection. "Oh, dear!" said I, in a more than half audible ejacula-

tion, "here we are, inmates of this Noah's ark confused, for at least two full months to come!"—and then I was sick again.

The breeze carried us about two hundred miles, and then left us to give place to heavy gales of wind from the S. W. which tossed us over and under the tremendous waves of the Bay of Biscay for several dreary days.

A ship, struggling in a storm, is an interesting sight, whatever it may be to those on board. A late modern author has remarked, that in this dilemma men are generally disposed to resort to "rum and religion" for consolation; but another modern author, of less levity, and with more prudence and judgment, observes, that it is then the soul is drawn to heaven by a sort of natural impulse, not always, perhaps, proceeding from an emotion of piety, but from a feeling conviction that every other refuge is "a refuge of lies."

The following little narrative, related to me by the principal actor in it, deserves, I think, a place here, as being in some degree connected with the last observation.

The commander of the ship which I am now on board, when thrown out of employment, with hundreds of others, at the period of peace—that sudden downfall to martial ambition—that abhorred state of national tranquillity—purchased the *Prince Ernest*, a Lisbon packet, and commanded her in the service of the post office for several years. In this ship, to use his own words, he "embarked all the hard earnings of twenty years' service, and all his prize money to boot;" of which, with the exception of a few hundred pounds, he was in one unlucky hour entirely bereft.

He had just arrived, with the mail from England, at Gibraltar, and was on shore at that place, when a heavy gale of wind arose, and prevented him from returning

to his ship; but, in the scene of confusion and distress which ensued amongst the shipping in the bay, he had the satisfaction of observing that the Prince Ernest remained steadily at her anchors.

The gale increased; guns were fired; various signals of distress appeared in all parts of the bay, and forty-nine vessels were already driven on shore. Still the Prince Ernest held on, and a lull (as the sailors term a pause in a gale of wind) taking place, it was supposed that there was an end to the scene of destruction. It frequently happens, however, that lulls are followed by the heaviest part of the gale, as if the wind took breath to come on with the greater fury. It proved so in the present case. The cables parted; the mournful signal gun was fired, and the ensign, hoisted with its union downward, indicated distress: but to render any assistance was impossible. In a few minutes the captain, amongst thousands of spectators on the shore, saw his ship driven upon the rocks and totally wrecked. The crew, except one man who perished, were with difficulty saved.

Shortly after this disaster, my friend was appointed to his present command in the *Frolic*, and, on his very first voyage, which was to North America, the ship, one boisterous night, running between six and seven knots an hour, struck upon a sandbank, off the coast of Halifax, which proved to be Sable Island; a bleak, uninhabited spot, surrounded by rocks, just above the surface of the sea, which has proved fatal to hundreds of vessels and thousands of lives—so fatal, I have been told, that if the crews have sometimes succeeded in saving themselves, there is scarcely an instance of the vessel that once touched upon it escaping total shipwreck.

It is the nature of a British sailor never to despair; the greater the difficulty into which he is thrown, and the more imminent the danger, the more deliberate are

his plans, and the more energetic is he in the execution of them. Above all, that cool, determined courage which nothing can appal, never forsakes him, but tends by its example to regulate the conduct of the whole : it checks the intemperate, animates the feeble, inspires confidence, keeps hope alive, and preserves that order and discipline, without which the best designs are frustrated and the most active efforts rendered abortive. In the present instance, all the sterling qualities of the British sailor were requisite, and all were called into action. Skill, calmness, courage, activity, and perseverance, command on one hand and obedience on the other, were jointly and severally practised on board the *Frolic* during a long and dreary night, the wind and the rain unceasing and increasing, and the waves making a clear breach over the vessel, whilst she beat upon the rocks with a force that left but little hope to the wearied crew of seeing another day: all were aware of the fatal spot on which they were cast.

The master, an old experienced seaman, (if thirty years constant practice in the dangers of the sea entitles to that appellation,) when consulted by his commander, and asked "What can we do now, old boy? What do you think of it?"—replied in terms which may be fairly said to illustrate the 'ruling passion'—"Think of it, sir? why, I think there will not be one of us left to take the sun to-morrow."

The landsman who glances over these pages may need to be informed, that it is the duty of the master to "take the sun" every day at twelve o'clock, when it is visible; and this is called the "observation," by which the latitude of the ship is ascertained. The old master's last thoughts (or what were considered very near his last thoughts) were therefore directed to one of his principal duties: he was not in the least dismayed by the scene

around him, but seemed to regret exceedingly that the chances were against his "taking the sun" the next day.

Hard and harder blew the wind, incessantly poured the rain, and louder roared the sea around them and over them, the darkness of the night completing the scene of distress.

To lighten the ship, the water was started in the hold; provisions, and shot, and chain-cables, and stores of all kinds, were thrown overboard, but to no purpose—wreck was deemed certain.

Before the day began to dawn, the tempest was at its height, and the vessel in so hopeless a state, that seeing their exertions useless, and admitting that no human effort could avert their destruction, the crew gathered round their captain on the quarter-deck, and there calmly resigned themselves to the will of Him, whose mercy, nevertheless, they with one accord humbly implored; and, lo! in that moment, when all hands had given up all as lost, the vessel floated—it was not known how! She cleared the rocks! it was thought impossible—she was at sea, safely scudding before the wind! Excessive joy did not prevent the ready and grateful acknowledgment that Providence was the guiding star which beamed upon their darkened way, that the Sovereign Ruler of the world was the pilot who steered them in safety through the storm.

Wind, weather, knots, latitude, longitude, course, and distance, are the daily, and often the *only*, subjects of remark on board ship. The sailor, who is accustomed to pass months, years, and perhaps his life, in the "floating prison," contents himself with these professional remarks; or, if he condescends to notice other occurrences, it is generally in exceedingly concise terms. The great sameness in a sea life, and the difficulty of finding wherewithal to eke out a journal, is proved by a well-known

extract from one, entitled "Journal of a Voyage from Liverpool to the West Indies, and home again;" in which, the only interesting remark from first to last was, on "Friday, twentieth November, A. M. moderate breezes and hazy; at noon caught a dolphin. P. M. ditto weather—at one let him go again."

Whoever writes, be it much or little, be it well or ill, is sure of incurring the censure of *some one*, and therefore I cannot expect to escape; but, on the other hand, like every author, I hope to meet with the approbation of *some one*: for who ever gave his productions to the world without believing that they possessed at least a little trifling something or other to recommend them? For my own part, I am determined to please, and that ought to go a great way to insure indulgence, since it succeeds through life, nine times out of ten, with those who practise the determination. I shall, therefore, as opportunity invites and as inclination prompts, proceed with this *Journal* after my own method; and I promise, among as many trifling incidents no doubt, something to the full as interesting, though not so concise, as the story of the dolphin. For instance:—

October 9th. A dead calm; the vessel lazily rolling in a long slow mountainous swell, and all on board as listless and as lifeless as the ship. Suddenly, a voice from the main-top is heard hailing the quarter-deck—"Pon deck, there!"—"Halloo!"—"A turtle on the star-board quarter!" An electric shock on the most sensitive nerves could not have excited more lively animation. The jolly-boat, with four jolly lads, was out like "seven bells half struck:" every eye was directed upon the star-board quarter, and every neck was strained to get a peep at the subject of this interesting alarm.

It would take a quire of foolscap to describe as it deserves the delight with which "I see it!" was every

moment expressed by each fortunately quick-sighted observer, and also the sensations of hope and fear that alternately reigned in every breast respecting the doubtful result.

One dive, and 'twas gone for ever! What a thought of distraction! Happily, the sleep-exciting swell of the sea and the rays of the meridian sun composed a charm too powerful to be easily or suddenly dissolved. Pillowed on the glassy wave, the turtle slept profoundly, unconscious of its fate; whilst all on board watched in breathless suspense the laudable anxiety of the bowman, stooping over the bow with eager eyes and outstretched hands, long before he came within reach of his victim, which at length he dexterously seized, and uplifted triumphantly in the air, amidst the congratulatory cheers of the spectators, accompanied with peculiar expressions of delight from the *select few*, who knew in their hearts that this delicious prize was ALL for them! The care with which it was handed, or rather escorted, into the ship, proved that there was no intention, as in the case of the dolphin, to "let it go again."

This amiable creature was treated in the very best manner by our excellent cook; never were four state passengers, in a state cabin, in the Bay of Biscay, regaled with a richer soup. And thus ends *TURTLE versus DOLPHIN*.

CHAPTER II.

Pass the Canary and Cape Verd Islands—Sudden and frequent changes of weather—Excessive rain—Stories of sharks.

Variable weather and variable winds, chiefly adverse, kept us struggling for seventeen days before we made the Island of Madeira, which this ship, in her last voyage from Falmouth, made in five days: a circumstance peculiarly calculated to aggravate that impatience, which seems to be the natural characteristic of all travellers, whether by sea or land.

October 17th, we passed the Canary Islands at a distance of 110 miles from Teneriffe; but the weather being hazy, we could not discern the celebrated peak, which sailors say can be seen, on a clear day, at the distance of 150 miles. Humboldt, from the top of the peak, saw the true horizon forty-three nautical leagues distant; and he observes, that "the peak of Teneriffe has frequently been seen at the distance of thirty-six, thirty-eight, and even forty leagues."

20th. Moderate breezes, a smooth sea, and pleasant weather, which is all I should have had to remark on this day, if a flying-fish had not flown on board, and suffered itself to be taken, thereby affording me an opportunity of recording *an event*.

If Buffon has not already given a perfectly satisfactory history of the flying-fish, the journals of the passengers on board the Frolic may be consulted to advantage; for there is not a passenger who does not keep one, and there is not a journal in which this little animal has not a place, being in some described with geometrical accuracy, and with an amplitude befitting a whale.

22d. The keel-impelling breeze from east-north-east,

has wafted us at the rate of seven and eight knots an hour, for the last twenty-four hours. It is beautiful to see the flying-fish, in countless multitudes, skimming in every direction before the vessel, as she plunges through the waves.

23d. In the morning-watch, we passed close to the eastward of the Cape Verd Islands, which it is scarcely possible to view without a thought upon the scenes of human wretchedness which have there been exhibited. The sun, too, shone with intense heat, as if to excite by sympathy our utmost compassion for the sufferings of thousands of our fellow-creatures, who have here pined in indescribable misery under its scorching rays, crowded in the pestilential holds of slave ships that at one time frequented the harbours of these islands.

When the slave trade flourished, the Cape Verd Islands had the sad celebrity of being the principal rendezvous of slave ships to and from the coast of Africa. A perpetual mart existed there, to which slave-merchants from all parts resorted to make their purchases; and to this day, something of the same kind exists in the Island of St. Jago, which has been declared a "*a free port.*" There a slave ship may take refuge, and remain secure from the cruisers of those nations which have abolished the trade, and which make prizes of slave ships when they can catch them elsewhere.

A slave ship, with its cargo of four or five hundred wretched victims (*stowed in bulk*), is a valuable prize for a man-of-war to fall in with; for, besides the ship itself becoming the property of the captors, the British government pay a handsome sum for every slave found on board. And what value shall we set upon the heartfelt gratification which a British officer and his crew must experience, when they have relieved from the dreadful tortures of suffocation, and restored to the light of day,

to fresh air and to liberty, five hundred human beings gasping for existence, which, even if prolonged, is expected at best to terminate in the drudgery of brutes!

24th. Sun-set this evening was truly a splendid sight. The colours of the sky were different from and more various than any I had ever before observed—

————— outvying some the rose,
And some the violet, yellow, and white, and blue,
Scarlet, and purpling red.

The clouds, too, assumed a form, a tinge, and a magnitude in their masses, that excited the admiration of all on board. No sooner had the sun, in a dazzling blaze, sunk beneath the sea, than the moon shone forth with a brilliancy quite unusual to us of northern climes. Our ship, with all sail set, was gliding silently over the rippled surface of the ocean, at the rate of two or three knots an hour, when, in a few minutes, all was changed. The wide expanse of burnished gold, which replaced the setting sun, faded suddenly away, the moon withdrew her trembling beams, and the clouds, forming into one dense black mantle, overspread the firmament, and, to our view, enveloped the whole universe in darkness. "How sudden!"—"What a change!" was the exclamation of every voice, when a flash of lightning attracted all eyes towards the east, just over the barren coast of scorching Africa. The breeze died away to a perfect calm, and the sails hung loosely against the masts: thunder followed at a distance. Scarcely had its awful hollow murmurings ceased, when the wind came sweeping along the deep, sudden as the lightning which accompanied it. Our ship, not unlike a sea-bird frightened from repose, rushed through the foaming wave, her wings extended to the utmost, bearing her onward with an unusually tremulous rapidity, at once astonishing and alarming.

The seaman's skill was instantly requisite for the prevention of threatened danger.

"Mind your helm!" cried the captain, loudly and sternly. "Ay, ay, sir!" replied the helmsman.

"Luff! then, luff!"

"Luff it is, sir, luff!"

"Turn the hands up!"

"All hands, a-hoy!"

"Up and furl the royals and sky-sails!—In stern-sails!—Down flying-jib and stay-sails!—Brail up the try-sails!—Man the top-gallant clue-lines!—Stand by the top-gallant halyards!—Let go!—Clue up!—Jib down!—Haul!—Haul down!"—were the orders given and accomplished within a few minutes; and in a few minutes more the squall, accompanied with very heavy rain, passed over us; but, without these precautions, it would have proved too much for the Frolic, or perhaps for the stoutest ship that ever sailed on the ocean.

A light breeze succeeded, scarcely sufficient to raise a gentle curl upon the waves; all sail was again set; the moon, surrounded by the resplendent host of heaven, burst with augmented lustre from her concealment, and the overcharged clouds, being now relieved, dispersed into various forms of different shades and hues, leaving the atmosphere around and above so serene and beautiful, as to excite our greater astonishment at the extraordinary suddenness of the change, which is by no means unfrequent between the tropics, sometimes occurring several times in the course of one night.

26th. Rain and hard squalls; compelling us occasionally to let go topsail and top-gallant halyards by the run. As for the rain, its violence can be imagined by those only who have seen and felt it. "*Torrents*" signify much, no doubt, but the term is too common to convey any notion of the nature and force of the rains near the equator.

P. M. Ditto weather; at two, caught a porpoise: at three minutes past two let him go again—because the barb of the harpoon with which he was struck broke whilst we were hauling him up into the fore-chains, and—away he went! Shortly afterwards we caught a lark, which afforded consolation to some of us for the loss of the fat hog of the deep: this little delicate creature excited considerable interest, from the circumstance of its having survived an exceedingly long and perilous voyage; we being, at the time it took refuge on our deck, not less than four hundred miles from the nearest land. It becomes me, however, to state, that various conjectures are hazarded by my companions relative to the adventures of this little wanderer; some opine that it has escaped from a ship which may have passed us unseen, and give as a reason the liveliness and good health of the visiter, as well as its apparent satisfaction and contentment in the cabin, where it was immediately introduced in full liberty, and ran about in pursuit of flies, without exhibiting the least symptom of fear or dislike to the passengers. Others maintain, that it may have boarded the *Frolic* unseen when near the Cape Verd Islands, and may have secreted itself on board ever since. My own opinion is, that it has been wafted through the air every yard of the distance above mentioned, which is by no means improbable; but my principal reason for maintaining this opinion is, because I consider it the most interesting conclusion to come to upon the subject.

28th. Wind “right in our teeth”—a melancholy circumstance, no doubt, for a set of impatient passengers, who would willingly change their situation in the state cabin of the *Frolic* for the worst that could be offered them in the bottom of the deepest mine in Peru. But, what I consider to the full as melancholy a subject is,

the sudden and accidental death of—our little lark. “Who killed the lark?” has been murmured in tones of pitiful regret from the stem to the stern of the Frolic. Precisely at eight bells, our interesting little favourite was trod to death by the cabin-boy; whilst stepping out of one of the side-berths with a cup of tea in his hand, the ship gave a lurch, and pitched him head foremost against the bulk-head to leeward, and whilst struggling to save the cup, he trod upon the luckless little lark. To this sad fact I could bear testimony, for I was at the time under the light of the cabin hatchway, occupied in what my Lord Chesterfield calls “sacrificing to the Graces,” but what, in vulgar phraseology, is called—shaving; and such was the shock of the accident, that I not only cut my own throat, but felt as if I could have cut the fellow’s also.

30th. It seemed as if the flood-gates above had been opened, and all the waters there concentrated, poured down upon us. To call these inundations by the European term “rain,” would be, as I have before hinted, far from conveying any idea of what they actually are. Those of my friends who may wish to know, as nearly as possible, our last night’s situation, may fancy themselves in a ten-gun brig, rolling, pitching, heaving, and setting, in the midst of the Atlantic ocean, upwards of two thousand six hundred miles from home, and nearly the same distance from the port of our destination—the night dark as Erebus—three drops, the size of “tea-saucers,” give a hint that it is going to rain. You have scarcely time to reflect upon this hint, before you may fancy that the ocean, having changed places with the skies, is rushing impetuously down again to take possession of its natural position. This is a very reasonable conjecture, because, in the utter obscurity of the night, you cannot suppose that the deluge which pours

and roars around you, can proceed from any thing else than the ocean itself turned topsy-turvy. Before breakfast, the waters ceased, the black heavy clouds began to disperse, and shades of blue and white re-appeared. It was a pitiful sight to behold the clothing of the ship's company hanging dripping fore and aft in the shrouds, wooing the reluctant beams of the sun, which could not yet, with all his power, force his way through the density of the atmosphere.

"A shark! a shark! a shark!" What bustling upon deck! it seems as though all hands had gone crazy! "See! see! don't you see him?"—"What!"—"Why, look!"—"Where?"—"Why, there!"—"Where?"—"There! here! there he goes! look! look!"—"My eyes! what a size!"

A fox-hunter, when he first discovers the wily object of his sport, cannot express his feelings with greater glee than that which is manifested fore and aft a ship on discovering a shark. The large hook, with its strong iron chain, generally in readiness where sharks are expected, is instantly baited with a piece of pork, and thrown over the stern, where it seldom remains long before the voracious monster is caught, and hauled on board.

If it happens to be a small young one, of three or four feet in length, it is cut up for cooking, and makes an excellent dish—I mean an excellent *sea dish*. If it happens to be a large one, fourteen feet, or perhaps twenty-four feet long, it is also cut up, not for the pleasure of making a meal of it, but for the pure pleasure of destroying it, and of examining what it may have swallowed during the last few hours.

There is not a creature, perhaps, of which more extraordinary stories are told, than of the shark; and to people who know no more of these animals, than what they may have seen in a dried up skin in a museum, such

stories may appear *embellished*; but those who have any intercourse with seamen, have many opportunities of being assured, that such stories are not exaggerated, but are *bona fide* true stories. One of these I shall here relate, because I heard it from very good authority, and afterwards had it corroborated by still better. The principal facts are these:—Some years ago, in the West Indies, a British ship of war fell in with an American merchant vessel, which, from circumstances, was generally supposed to be a good and lawful prize; but no papers being found on board to condemn the vessel, and her captain *swearing* that all was correct, the British captain, after the detention of a day or two, was induced to relinquish his capture. Shortly after this, (I forget the precise space of time,) a shark was caught by another British ship of war, on the same station, and in cutting it up, (a delightful operation seldom omitted,) a tin case, containing sundry papers, was found in its stomach. They proved to have belonged to the merchant vessel before mentioned, and had been thrown overboard by the captain, when about to be examined by the British cruiser. The fact was soon discovered; the papers were taken to Port Royal, where the American captain had actually commenced an action for damages against the British captain for unlawful detention. The tables were immediately turned on the astonished Jonathan, whose ship was condemned as a good and lawful prize. The shark was one of the largest size, and the jaws are preserved to this day in the Justice-hall at Spanish Town, to the annoyance of many a Yankee captain, who, when "*swearing*" about the destination of his ship, and the correctness of his papers, is reminded of this extraordinary detection, by some one in court significantly pointing to the jaws of the shark, and saying, "Take care! the truth will out, though from the bottom of the sea!"

I have heard this story corroborated by several persons, and very lately by an officer who was acquainted with the commander of the ship, on board which the shark that had swallowed the tin box was taken.

Of the voracious nature of the shark, we have all frequently read or heard. The following stories on that subject were related to me this day, by the captain and the gunner of the *Frolic*, just after they had each caught a young one, which gave rise to the conversation:—When the *Diana* frigate was lying at anchor off Vera Cruz, one of the marines, who was sentry in the stern of the ship, by some accident fell overboard in the night; and the captain, who was in bed at the time, hearing the splash in the water, jumped up, and looking out of the stern gallery, asked, "Is that a man overboard?"—"Yes, sir, it is me!" said the marine. "Well, have you got hold? are you safe?" said the captain. "Yes, sir! I have hold of the rudder-chains; but my musket is gone!" said the marine. "D—n your musket!" said the captain, and ran upon deck to order a boat to be lowered, which in a man-of-war is an operation of but a very few minutes. In the act of lowering the boat, a loud shriek was heard, and when the boat's crew went to pick up the man, he was not to be seen. Two days after this event, a shark was caught and hauled on board the *Diana*, in the stomach of which was found part of the jacket and a shoe of the unfortunate marine.

The gunner of the *Frolic*, in the course of the last war, was employed in the enterprise of cutting out a French frigate, in which one of his comrades lost a leg, and in a few days died; when, as is customary on board ship, he was sewn up in his hammock with a heavy weight in it, commonly a couple of twenty-four pound shot. Scarcely *twenty minutes* had elapsed after the body had been committed to the deep, when the ham-

mock and bedding of the deceased were seen floating round the ship, torn to pieces: it is unnecessary to add who or what had so soon robbed them of their contents.

There is no fish so easily caught as the shark,—and none, perhaps, more difficult to deprive of life. It is really astonishing to see their exertions with both jaws and tail, long after they have been opened, their intestines and other viscera cut out, and the skin stripped from the body.

Notwithstanding all the atrocities of these formidable creatures, and the inveterate hatred that is shown to them, their flesh is not always despised; to a sea appetite it is sometimes a luxury; and there are few sailors who have caught sharks, that have not also made a hearty meal upon them. The two we caught this day, one about four feet, the other about three feet long, being young and delicate, were reserved for the cabin; and it was agreed, without one dissenting voice, that the dish of shark served up at dinner, was as good a dish of fish as ever was eaten: it was cut into slices something like crimped cod, and fried; but I positively considered it better, in every respect, than any dish of cod-fish I had ever tasted.

This evening we were gratified with one of those magnificent scenes which attend the setting sun in the tropical latitudes. Such brilliancy and such variety of colours, such delicacy in the tints, such grandeur in the clouds, such majesty in the long heaving swell of the sea, such serenity in the sky, such softness in the gently blowing breeze, formed altogether a scene so truly sublime, that it was impossible to behold it without feelings of reverential admiration and delight; for such a scene

——— publishes to every land
The work of an Almighty hand.

CHAPTER III.

Sketch of daily proceedings on board a ten gun brig packet.

November 1. On this day my friends at home may be closing round a blazing fire, or, if going to take the air, may be wrapped in great coats, cloaks, and furs; whilst we, on board the *Frolic*, in $4^{\circ} 34'$ north latitude, find our shirts and trowsers quite sufficient clothing for the climate. In London on this day, the mean of the thermometer may be 50° or 55° —truth may lie between. With us it stands at 86° in the shade, and at 112° in the sun! We have all sail set, and, fanned by soft and gentle breezes, a delightful ventilation is kept up.

5th. We are now running at the rate of eight and nine knots upon a bow-line; shoals of flying-fish are skimming round the vessel in every direction, exhibiting in great brilliancy all the hues of the rainbow.

As I know no reason why the little incidents of life at sea should not be recorded by travellers, and given to the world as liberally as those of life on shore, I shall here give a sketch of our daily proceedings on board his majesty's packet brig *Frolic*, which may be taken as a sample of life in every similar situation.

At six-bells, in the morning watch, we generally emerge from our wooden cells; whether refreshed or not by the night's repose depends in a great degree upon the motion of the vessel, the creaking of the guns, masts, and bulk-heads, but more upon the state of the thermometer, which is materially influenced by the hatches being placed on or off, as the weather admits.

After performing our ablutions in about a pint of fresh water, economically served out by the steward, we go

upon deck, cast a seaman-like glance round the horizon, then up at the clouds, then down at the compass, and give a melancholy sigh, or pronounce a joyful "Ha!"—according to the appearance of the one or the direction of the other. We next stroll up and down the deck, in conversation upon the weather, as it *was*, and *is*, and *is to be*; we then examine the log, and calculate the distance run since yesterday at noon, and often the distance still to be run before we eat fresh beef at Buenos Ayres.

At two-bells, we all descend rather hastily, and without any observance of

Precedence, pride of rank and birth,
The sex's privilege on earth:

but at *sea*, particularly in a packet, of very little consideration.

When seated at breakfast, each, to his taste, butters a smoking hot roll, which, if not so light as a French roll, is certainly not so heavy as a nine-pound shot. The table is covered with luxuries: here, the remains of a cold roast duck; there, the bones of what was once a fowl; at the head, a noble dish of salt fish, mashed in a mortar and seasoned with onions; at the foot, the liver and lights of a pig or sheep recently killed; in the middle, a dish of fried salt tripe and broiled fat pork; with other little dainties equally exquisite, which, if not all served up on the same day, appear in rotation, according to the studied arrangement of our steward. Tea, or coffee, or both, may be had on asking for, but latterly there is no milk; because, in the first place, the old goat, which for a time yielded us a scanty supply of that luxury, was drained to death, poor wretch! and its starved carcass thrown overboard in the Bay of Biscay: in the second place, our patent milk soon failed us, as out of eighteen cases, with which we were provided,

only five, upon opening, proved fit for use. This patent milk is common milk preserved by a particular process, and tastes like boiled milk a little burnt, but not unpleasant when mixed with tea. It is put up in tin cases hermetically sealed; and it will no doubt be improved upon, for if one case can be preserved sweet and good for many months, so may a thousand by the same process.

After breakfast, we again lounge upon deck, and look out for flying-fish, or skip-jacks, or dolphins; if none appear to detain us, we go below, and take our accustomed seats round the cabin table, where each commences an occupation suited to his disposition, which generally terminates in an easy nap.

A journal is sure to be seen, with the journalist poring over it, anxiously thinking, rethinking, and drawing canals from a blot of ink, before he hits upon a change of subject, or finds wherewithal to fill the page intended for the entertainment of his family and a few most intimate friends *only*; for what private journal in this world was ever written with the intent of bestowing its treasures upon a thankless public through the medium of the press!

Another amuses himself with a flute, for which instrument one of our companions suddenly acquired a most ungovernable passion. Unhappily for the majority of the company, one of the ornamental appendages of the state-cabin was an old flute, which, to speak the truth, owed its preservation much less to the value set upon it, than to the harmless vanity of publicly exhibiting a forgotten accomplishment of our captain's. This instrument, one day in a tremendous lurch, fell from its usual place of security upon the head of our young friend, who, first starting "even at the sound himself had made," took it up and almost *extempore* produced the

sublime anthem of "God save the King," and ever after—cry mercy on the concord of sweet sounds!

Thus, as the accidental fall of an apple from a tree occasioned in the mind of England's "incomparable philosopher" his first thought of a grand system, so did the accidental fall of the flute from its hooks lead to the first trial of a talent, the continued practice of which nearly distracted us all.

This gentleman had a genius for poetry as well as for the charming art of music; he composed a truly melancholy elegy upon the death of one of our sheep, which was smothered by being too carefully covered up in the launch during a gale of wind. He was so kind as to favour me with copies of several of his *morceaux choisis*. I give them this foreign epithet, because they come immediately under that class of poetry which a certain French critic terms—"des vers fabriqués avec le marteau de la adence."

At five-bells, that is, at half past two, the steward's mate enters the cabin, and very respectfully says "Five bells, if you please, gel'men;" which means "Clear away your traps, I want to lay the cloth;" and this article of decent luxury, if it happens to be Sunday or Thursday, is spread clean from the wash, the steward on these days, just before the time of spreading it, seldom failing to call out to his mate, "I say, Bob! don't you forget for to mind that this is clean-cloth-day"—to whom Bob, "I knows it."

At the mate's warning we go upon deck, and usually wait with attention the striking of six-bells. This, on board ship, we may truly call "the tocsin of the soul;" for this announcement of dinner is received with a delightful emotion, and if any accident occasions a breach of the punctuality with which a dinner is usually served up, impatience and disappointment are then so loudly

and clamorously expressed, that the utmost confusion has been known to ensue between cook, cook's mate, steward, steward's mate, cabin-boy, and cabin passengers; to avoid which, every exertion is made to strew the dinner upon the table before the sound is out of the bell. I have said "*to strew*" upon the table, because I consider it a prettier word than scatter; but far be it from me to insinuate thereby, irregularity or disorder in the arrangement; for although the business is managed in that off-hand, sailor-like manner which despises the rigid rules of formality, it cannot at the same time be termed *disorder*. I only mean to observe, that neither square nor compass is used in the disposal of the dishes, nor is it thought a matter of importance to "cross corners with puddings." I have seen three puddings placed at one side of the table on board the Frolic, with only a saucer of pickled onions or of pickled samphire to separate them, and I never remarked that they excited the least alarm, or uneasiness, either in the mind or in the countenance of our host, or any of his guests.

About one hour of time is consumed in consuming that abundance which has, in appearance, been shaken out of the horn of plenty upon the table. Bottled porter and bottled stout, a few degrees above temperate, froth round the chattering board. Madeira, very good indeed; sherry, very bad indeed; port, which in these latitudes may compare with "Day and Martin mulled;" very fair claret, and occasionally champagne, are all at the discretion of the guests, together with gin, rum, brandy, and tamarind-water. Whatever may be the beverage, it is imbibed apparently with as little advantage as the labour of the daughters of Danaus, who were doomed to draw water out of a well with sieves; for at every pore of the skin it is returned in equal abundance. When the cloth is removed, a plate of dried figs, another of dried raisins, and a third of

dried almonds, are placed upon the table. Two wine-glasses, of different sizes and shapes, and a green dessert-plate, with knife and fork, are then placed before each person; but all this is only style, arising out of the mere refinement of fashion, for I have never seen either the one or the other put to the smallest use, except perhaps a glass to sip a little wine and water out of, whilst conversation, not the bottle, goes its round. We have thus often passed an hour very merrily; some droll stories, or a song, occasionally inducing the officer of the watch to peep down the sky-light in envy of the uproarious mirth below.

Again upon deck for a stroll, and examination of the elements upon which our fate, as well as our humour, so much depends. One may, perhaps, seat himself comfortably upon the breech of a carronade to study his Spanish grammar; another disposes himself still more comfortably to sleep; a third hauls in the fishing-line, which is generally towing astern, to catch what it can.

At the setting of the sun, particularly in the tropical latitudes, we occasionally found half an hour's amusement in watching the ever-changing scenery of the clouds; each person discovering something extraordinary in the various shapes they assumed; perhaps the likeness of the lord chancellor in his wig, or of some wonderful animal; this was communicated to the next neighbour, who had just discovered something else equally fantastic. I recollect, one evening, our having seen distinctly the scene in "Midas," representing the descent of all the gods and goddesses, but with a solemnity of beauty and brilliancy of colours far surpassing the boasted art of man.

Thus we used to gaze, with equal pleasure and admiration, till darkness dropped her curtain, and hid these truly resplendent beauties from our view. Twilight

can scarcely be said to exist; for no sooner does the sun set in these latitudes, than the night succeeds.

At seven-bells in the last dog-watch, tea is announced, when those who wish to steam themselves for half an hour, descend to do so. Shortly after this alimentary operation, sighs and yawns proclaim the approaching hour for bed, and before two-bells are struck in the first watch, some are already "turned in" and fast secured in the spells of sleep. Others may prefer remaining upon deck, listening to the sailor's song, sometimes droll and merry, sometimes dismally pathetic; or, it may be, reclining over the gangway, idly gazing on the sparkling lustre of the moon, as it dances on the gently rippled waves, or in thoughtful remembrance of those far away; or mayhap, in deeper meditation still—for at midnight hour, when all is serenity and calm at sea, a holy calm will also reign in the heart, and the thoughts will rise to heaven. Be this as it may, the night passes away somehow or other, and day returns and is killed in the same manner as the preceding.

If, from the foregoing representation, it appears that our life on board the *Frolic* is not very frolicsome, it must not be supposed that we are miserably dull, though it may be reasonable to conclude that we sometimes feel ourselves, particularly in a foul wind with a head sea, rather *squeamish*, and our spirits not so high as our thermometers.

CHAPTER IV.

Pass the Equator—A Comet—Magellan Clouds—Making all snug in a gale—Enter the River Plat—Disappointment in landing—Termination of the voyage.

November 5. This day is an epoch in all our journals, having at eight o'clock A. M., passed the equator, and entered the southern hemisphere; a circumstance which seemed to create a sensation of pleasure not unlike what travellers experience when they have got over all the bad road on their journey, and when that which is still before them, besides being shorter, is smooth and down hill. Our hopes of a favourable termination to our voyage are raised to the utmost. But, upon what do these hopes repose?—Alas! upon the winds and the waves, the very superlatives of inconstancy and disappointment.

8th. Close hauled upon the larboard tack, we have made good upwards of two degrees and a half of latitude since yesterday at noon. I had almost forgotten to make mention of a comet, which is fairly deserving of a place in a journal, as it is not an every-day sight; for astronomers inform us, that, from the period of 500 years before Christ, up to the year 1811, only ninety-eight comets have been known to appear to the inhabitants of our earth. The celebrated one of that year, *every body* saw, and the tail of it, according to Sir William Herschell, expanded over a space of more than nine millions of miles!

From the comet to the clouds is a very natural transition; and therefore I take this opportunity of mentioning the "Magellan clouds," which are also curious in their

way. They are called after Magellan, the celebrated circumnavigator, who, upwards of three hundred years ago, gave his name to the intricate channel at the southern extremity of America, and who, it is pretended, first noticed the clouds in question.

Since we have been in the southern hemisphere, we have found great pleasure, every night, in admiring the splendid beauties above, so different from those in the northern heavens; but I do not think I should have observed the "Magellan clouds" had they not been pointed out to me. They exist, however, and are always to be seen at night, each about the size of a table-cloth, one the colour of a clean one, and the other something of the colour of our own cloth at the end of a week's wear. When once pointed out, it is very easy to distinguish them from other clouds. There they have been for three hundred years certain, perhaps they are coeval with the world; and they may remain when, peradventure, no human eye shall exist to look upon them.

12th. Remarkably fine weather; and although the thermometer in the sun indicates the *consuming* heat of 124° , our light dresses, and awnings, and ventilations, preserve us to a great degree from its effects.

13th. Sunday; a heavenly day in every respect. The sea without a ripple on its surface; the atmosphere serene and clear; the sky without a cloud, being one entire canopy of light azure, beautifully brilliant; a gentle refreshing breeze, a little abaft the beam, has just force sufficient, with all sail set, to fan us along at the rate of five miles and a half an hour:—the whole world would be sailors, were the ocean and the winds as smooth and placid at all times as we find them now.

17th. Fresh and fair, indeed, is the breeze that now makes the waves "so gaily curl before our dashing prow;" eight, nine, and ten knots an hour are run off

with ease, and right joyful is every countenance, for appearances are such as to encourage the hope that this pace will last till we reach our destination.

18th. The sea runs high, and the wind whistles through the cordage in that mournful tone which adds so much to the imposing solemnity of a storm. Fortunately for us, we have it abaft the beam, and are enabled to carry on gallantly before it, having performed 224 miles since yesterday.

That large bird of the southern ocean, the albatross, has been winging his rapid flight round us, with as much ease as if we were motionless as the far distant rock which, perhaps, he had just left, although at the time we were running at the rate of ten knots.

19th. "Harder yet, it still blows harder!" We are now scudding before the gale with top-gallant sails over double-reefed topsails, rolling gunnels in, and every timber and plank of the ship creaking in horrible discord, in proof of their laborious exertions in the heavy sea, through which we have again ploughed 224 miles in twenty-four hours.

20th. Louder roars the tempest; the ocean foams in fury around us; and a dark gloomy sky frowns upon us from above. We are now driven on at the rate of ten and eleven knots an hour; the sea occasionally making a clear sweep over the vessel, as she rolls and labours in the storm; and wonderful it is how these little ships outlive a gale, for in a heavy sea they are as often under the waves as above them.

21st. Last night the gale considerably increased, and before daylight this morning the boatswain's hoarse voice was heard summoning all hands to send down top-gallant yards, to strike top-gallant masts, and reef and furl the necessary sails, which is called "*making*

all snug;" but, woe is me! what a sea! and what a ship! and what a berth! for *snugness*!

22d. The gale has abated, the sea has subsided, and our ship seems once more at her ease.

After a voyage of fifty-five days, and at the conclusion of a storm, one might imagine that the cry of "Land ho!" in the neighbourhood too of the anxiously desired port, would be a cheering consolation to sea-worn travellers. At seven o'clock this morning, land was descried from the deck; but its low, barren, inhospitable aspect, added to the unpleasantness of the weather and the continuance of the wind directly against us, destroyed all the happy effects of this usually welcome announcement.

25th. The wind changed in the course of last night, and increased to a gale, which drove us out to sea, after being within a few miles of our port. The weather is now so excessively cold and blustering, that, had I not passed the Equator, I might have been disposed to imagine that our captain had smuggled us to the coast of Nova Zembla. After beating about for sixteen hours against a head sea, a strong current, and a foul wind, we were at last compelled to yield to such powerful adversaries, by furling our sails, and letting go an anchor, the ground here answering almost every where for that purpose: but no shelter whatever is obtained from either the winds or the waves; every thing must depend upon the strength of the cable.

26th. We rode out the gale perfectly safe, and at three o'clock this morning the wind came round to a favourable point, when we weighed anchor, and made all sail up the stupendous, but wholly uninteresting river Plate, which is 120 miles wide at its mouth, and not less than from twenty to thirty in any one part for a distance exceeding 150 miles inland.

In the course of the day, the rigging of the ship, from top to bottom, was literally covered with long fine cobwebs that had been blown off the shore, having attached to them their insect manufacturers, who dispersed themselves in thousands over our decks. We saw upon the distant hills along the coast immense herds of cattle, which sufficiently assured us, that what we had so often heard respecting the cheapness of beef in this country might well be the case. Our captain said, that in his first voyage to Buenos Ayres, he received from an American gentleman seven good bullocks for three English sheep.

In the evening, a pilot came on board, which saved the necessity of putting into Monte Video: and a fine fresh breeze favouring us, we made all possible sail for Buenos Ayres, with confident hopes of arriving on the morrow. In the course of the night, however, we were again baffled by variable winds, and compelled to come to an anchor in the middle of the river, which, notwithstanding its magnitude, is of extremely intricate navigation, being in some places so shallow, that we had only two feet depth of water beyond what the ship required.

27th. This day we were visited by vast numbers of moths, and various small birds, some of the latter of beautiful plumage. About dusk in the evening, swarms of dragon-flies infested the ship; and we saw a flight of wild ducks, which I mention as the first intimation I had of being in fresh water, although in the river; for at this moment no land is to be seen on either side of us from the deck, and but very faintly from the mast-head; all around has still the appearance of the ocean.

29th. By taking every precaution and making "*all snug*," we have weathered a tempestuous night; and at

daylight this morning, the gale having moderated, we weighed, and once more set sail for Buenos Ayres, with strong hopes of being able to reach the roadstead before night. At two o'clock in the afternoon those hopes vanished.

The wind headed us so strongly, that the captain resolved to give up Buenos Ayres and to try for the harbour of Ensenada, twenty-five miles nearer to us than the former; but the pilot not being sufficiently acquainted with that harbour, declined taking the ship in; we therefore came to an anchor about nine miles from the land, and sent one of our boats on shore to procure a pilot acquainted with the place. Our chief commissioner went in the boat, for the purpose of preparing good cheer, hiring horses, and getting, by the time we should land, every thing ready for conveying us all, bag and baggage, to Buenos Ayres.

We knew there could be no lack of horses, and were therefore quite delighted at the idea of a gallop along the flat which extends the whole length of the coast, and, indeed, for at least seven hundred miles into the interior.

It being nearly four o'clock in the afternoon when the boat with our general went on shore, before a fine stiff breeze, we allowed him an hour to go, and a full hour and a half to return, which, perhaps, was little enough, considering the distance; but we on board were delightfully impatient; and, as delight takes no heed of time, we suffered no other idea to enter our heads than that of being in full gallop within three hours and a half from the time our boat shoved off. Every thing on our parts was prepared to prevent a moment's delay; there was not a single article, from a bale of pack-saddles to a night-cap, that was not pack-

ed in readiness to disembark: even pistols were primed and loaded for defence against casualties in the strange country in which we were about to trust ourselves.

A full hour more than the time we had judged the boat required to return, passed heavily away, and still no sign of her appeared; although we could see distinctly five miles from the ship, before the sun set and left us in darkness, with blue devils.

30th. Precisely at one hour after midnight, the captain came to my berth, and awakened me from a state which must have proved to him that I had forgotten all the cares of this world. "Here," said he, "is a letter from the general; and so exhausted are my boat's crew in pulling off against wind and tide for the last six hours, that had they had one mile farther to pull, they could not possibly have reached the ship." They were, in truth, completely "knocked up." The general's letter, according to rule, commenced by stating his "safe arrival," which we (for all assembled to hear the news) were very happy to learn. The next paragraph seemed to give peculiar satisfaction. "Horses in abundance, and all ready; do not, upon any account, forget to bring our own saddles, as so long a ride with those of the country will probably be found very uneasy and galling."

He also recommended us not to neglect the pack-saddles for conveying our baggage, and said, "We can easily reach Buenos Ayres to-night, although it may be a little late; but, if the boat should happen not to get on board soon enough, I shall, in that case, not expect you till the morning, when you can come to breakfast, and come early." The letter then mentioned the sorry kind of lodging he had got into, which we should have been heartily glad to have shared with him: but

such was not our destiny, for this whole business ended in one general disappointment.

At eight o'clock in the morning, the captain, expecting a favourable change of wind, weighed and made sail, not for Ensenada, not to join the general "early in the morning," but—once again for Buenos Ayres, now only twenty-six miles distant. The disappointment of the passengers was great indeed, and how long the general waited breakfast for us I have yet to learn.

The wind did not, as the captain expected, change in our favour, but continued obstinately unfavourable for fifteen hours, the whole of which time it took us to work up the river.

At eleven o'clock at night we anchored, *at last*, in the wild open roads of Buenos Ayres, about eight miles distant from the town; but were it not that we could discover, at day-light, the domes of cathedrals, the steeples of churches, and the long white ranges of buildings, we might still imagine ourselves in the midst of the ocean, for so low and flat is the land that none could be seen from our deck.

Here terminates a voyage of exactly nine weeks, which, although commonly performed in eight, sometimes in seven, is not considered among the worst. No vessel could have been more baffled than the little *Frolic* with unfavourable winds and bad weather; therefore, reader, if you are now complaining of weariness, stupidity, and *ennui*, I fain would ask, what could you have expected otherwise, during a tedious, uninteresting voyage across the dreary Atlantic?

CHAPTER V.

A sudden storm—Awkward landing of the passengers—Arrival at Buenos Ayres—Faunch's hotel—Caution to servants—Change in ecclesiastical affairs—Advertisements in the newspapers.

December 1st. On board H. M. brig Frolic, at single anchor, in the outer roads of Buenos Ayres. In northern climes, this month is usually accompanied with hail, rain, storm, and all the severities of winter; but not even upon the bleak coast of Lapland, has it ever been ushered in with a more tremendous warring of the elements than we have just experienced.

Scarcely had we secured our ship at anchor, when the whole horizon became enveloped in one continued blaze of lightning, for so vivid were the wide-extending flashes, that their intermission was scarcely perceptible, and so dazzling as to be quite overpowering to the sight.

Thunder, at the same time, burst over our heads,

Deepening and crashing as 'twould rend the world:

the wind blew with the fury of a hurricane: then followed a shower of hail, which cannot be better described than in the words of one of the sailors, who exclaimed, "These lumps of ice are battering upon our decks like grape-shot." When the hail ceased, the rain poured in torrents, the stars lost all their lustre, and the moon, usually so brilliant here, assumed a blood-red, gloomy appearance, that added considerably to the awfulness of this tremendous gust, for it did not last above half an hour. Storms of this kind are generated in the

Andes, and rushing with unresisted violence over the *pampas*, are thence called *pamperos*.*

At eight o'clock in the morning, the weather having sufficiently moderated, the captain, with the mails, went on shore in the launch, accompanied by all my *compagnons de voyage*. It being requisite that somebody should remain on board with the baggage and sundry other articles, I volunteered to do so, as I perceived my friends would consider it a severe punishment to be deprived of the first possible chance of gaining their liberty, and I did not wish, for the sake of avoiding a few hours longer confinement, to inflict that punishment on any of them. Away they went in full glee, although in a rough sea, and with a strong breeze nearly right against them, leaving me in solitary confinement to await a similar enjoyment at a future opportunity.

2d. A fine, calm, sun-shining morning as ever graced the month of May.

I confess, I felt my solitude more irksome than I expected, and began to wish for my release with some degree of impatience, for it was late before the boat returned; and when I questioned the coxswain upon the cause of his delay, he gave me so lamentable an account of the adventures of his passengers, that I found I had occasion to rejoice, rather than repine, at my detention on board. Such is life! and such is man!—as Matthews observes, “like a lobster in boiling water, restless and never satisfied!”

The boat had been so crowded with mail-bags, portmanteaus, passengers, and other lumber, that the men could not use their oars with proper effect; and the

* *Pampa*, in the Peruvian or Quichna language, signifies a plain—*Hatun pampa*—a great plain.

wind having increased after putting off from the ship, it was soon found that they could not possibly fetch the landing-place at the town, while, from the strength of the current against them, to regain the ship was equally impossible. The boat, moreover, from being so long out of use, and exposed to so much heat as we had experienced in the tropical latitudes, was, as the coxswain very significantly remarked, "like an old basket," and leaked as fast and faster than all hands could bale the water out.

In this dilemma there was nothing else for it than to "up helm" and run for the nearest land wherever they could fetch it. This they did; but from their total ignorance of the soundings, and the shallowness of the water along the coast, the boat grounded full a quarter of a mile from the shore. The alternative of sitting quietly in the boat up to the knees in *clear* water, or of jumping overboard up to the middle in *muddy* water, now remained; and the latter was unanimously preferred, because it was supposed that they were only the distance "of a pleasant walk through the fields" from Buenos Ayres. Overboard they accordingly sprang, and waded in high spirits to terra firma.*

At a distance, a cart with a yoke of oxen hove in sight, and was soon "brought to," boarded, and the owner engaged, but in what *language* is not known, to convey the mails and luggage to the town; the party escorting it on foot, with our gallant captain at their head.

They had not proceeded much beyond an hour or so, when it was generally felt that the *pleasure* of the walk was yet to come; for ankle-deep pools, deeper sand, and still deeper mud, seemed to increase as they advanced, without the gratification of beholding the semblance of a "green field," or even of a road, to give stability to

their footing, or to encourage their already lagging steps. All round them was a flat wilderness, without any thing in view except the dingy dome of the cathedral of Buenos Ayres, which acted as a sort of beacon to their land of promise, still far distant; for they ascertained that the full measure of thirteen miles, from the place where the boat grounded, must be made 'good before they could reach the city. By turns, one, and sometimes two, would throw themselves for a *spell* upon the creaking, jolting, bullock-cart, and in this way they all arrived, *alive*, at the English Hotel, just as the sun was about to leave them in the lurch.

I congratulated myself in having remained quietly on board, then, stepping into the boat, took my leave of the Frolic.

When about a hundred yards from the shore, we were met by one of those carts upon amazingly high wheels, drawn by two horses, which line the beach, and are in attendance to receive passengers from the boats, which cannot approach nearer to the landing place on account of the shallowness of the water. In this cart I was conveyed full gallop to Faunch's Hotel, where I took up my quarters in Buenos Ayres; and here I need not detain myself for the purpose of writing an elaborate history of the place or of its inhabitants, for the subject has been forestalled by at least a full score of authors and travellers of every denomination.

Faunch's is considered the principal hotel in the city, out of compliment, I suppose, to the proprietors, who are English; but there is nothing whatever in the whole straggling building, within doors or without, that can induce an English traveller to fancy himself in an English hotel. My bed-room, selected as one of the very best in the house, was not many degrees more capacious than my berth on board the Frolic. My bed

was certainly good enough for any body, being composed of a hard straw mattress and clean sheets, which were all I desired. Being, however, somehow or other, exceedingly addicted to having my little comforts about me, and wishing now and then to have a retreat whither I might retire with only my own company, I felt considerable inconvenience in finding no more space than just sufficient to contain my portmanteaus, over one of which I was always obliged to stand astride when in the room. The door opened abruptly into the yard or court, as is usual in this country, where all rooms have free communication with the street; in short, the habitation was what in England is called an "out-house," which might be considered a very convenient place for keeping coals, or where a sportsman might probably tie up his dogs.

Alderman Rowcroft had slept in the same room, and being asked the first morning, how he had been lodged? his answer was, "As well as could be expected, considering Faunch had given me a bed in the stable."

The walls and floor of this apartment were nearly covered with what at first gave me considerable alarm; but being assured that I should not be molested, I took courage, and found that I was not deceived. This was a colony of ants, which had their settlement in one of the beams of the roof, and having several roads to it, they were spread in divisions of millions over the room, but always preserved the nicest order and regularity in their ranks. Day and night their industry was unceasing, and I suppose of too much interest to themselves to admit of their interference with others, for I never found the least inconvenience from them, but often much amusement in observing their curious labours. Sweets seemed to be their great allurements, for the sugar-bowl every morning was found in their entire pos-

session, and to dislodge them was no easy task. Perhaps no house in Buenos Ayres is altogether free from them.

The living at Faunch's Hotel was very fair, and considering that the markets here are not very reasonable, his prices were not extravagant. The cheapness of beef is counterbalanced by the dearness of vegetables; fuel also is to be included amongst articles of high price and scarcity.*

The city of Buenos Ayres covers a very great extent of ground, owing to the plan generally adopted by the Spaniards throughout South America, of making the streets cross each other at right angles and form regular parallelograms. Many of the streets are two, and some, I believe, three miles in length; but from the barn-like appearance of the houses, the narrowness of the streets, and the total absence of equipages, it is difficult to imagine oneself in a large, populous, and thriving capital. The Spaniards did nothing either for its convenience or its embellishment; but since the revolution, many improvements have taken place, and many more are contemplated.

The theatre is the great national attraction; the people, indeed, take so much delight in theatrical representations, that parties are made to attend even the rehearsals. I had the honour of being invited, and slept for two hours at one of those dullest of all amusements—the rehearsal of a bad comedy. The operas here, however, are not to be despised. I saw *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* performed in a very creditable manner, one or

* Since this period, Faunch has taken a large house from Mr. Thwaites, an English merchant, who spared neither pains nor expense in fitting it up with all the comfort and convenience of a first-rate hotel, and it now only requires good attendance to make it so in every respect.

two of the performers in which would have received applause on any stage.

Notwithstanding the perilous navigation of the river Plate, Buenos Ayres has more trade with Europe than any other town in South America. Ships of all nations carry merchandize to this city, whence it is conveyed on mules, or in bullock-carts, to the interior. The carriage of goods is, however, extremely expensive which may appear extraordinary in a country where a yoke of fine oxen, well trained, can be purchased for forty or fifty dollars, and a good horse for fifteen dollars; though a first-rate animal, for luxury, may cost fifty or a hundred dollars.

My servant, with whom I had fair recommendations in London, deserted me a few days after my arrival, in consequence of finding out that the wages of the country were higher than those which he obtained from me. I gave him, by agreement, thirty guineas a year, which, for all he had to do, was ample; but in Buenos Ayres he learned that he could earn double that sum, and therefore sought an opportunity to "give me warning," unreasonably expecting to have his passage from England free. He was not aware, however, that in consequence of similar tricks played by many of his profession on their arrival from Europe, the government of Buenos Ayres had very considerably passed a law making all contracts executed in Europe binding in South America. By virtue of this law I obtained a decree against him for the thirty-six pounds which I had paid for his passage; and when he was tapped on the shoulder, and asked "to pay or to prison," he said he preferred remaining with his master; but his master, in rather harsh terms, declined having any thing more to do with him.

Christmas-day; certainly the very hottest I ever

passed; the thermometer in the shade stood for some hours at 90°. The heat was really intolerable.

I dined with H. B. Majesty's Consul-General to this republic, who entertains in the style and with the hospitality of an English gentleman. He is deservedly esteemed at Buenos Ayres, and must be so in any higher diplomatic situation, to which his talents bid fair to promote him.

I observed no religious processions, nor any of those ceremonies usually performed at this festive season. Religion here is no longer what it was a few years ago; but although there may be nothing to lament in the abolition of many absurdities, yet care will be requisite in curbing that injudicious spirit of which there is certainly some appearance, and which, aiming at religious license, may miss the mark, and terminate in religious anarchy—of all disasters the most fatal that can befall a state.

With respect to the pope, the Americans literally care nothing about his holiness. America is as independent of Rome, as Rome is of America; the great body of the people think that they may redress their ecclesiastical grievances, and regulate the forms and duties of their religion, without the necessity of traversing the Atlantic ocean to consult the Holy See on every little repair that may be requisite for the movement of the machinery of their church. As well, it has been said, might an inhabitant of Paris keep his watchmaker at Pekin.

Having left the land of liberty and arrived in a country where slavery exists, an Englishman, taking up one of the public papers for the first time, cannot but experience very strange sensations upon seeing men, women, and children, advertised for sale amongst houses, cattle, Bur-

ton ale, fresh butter, and goods of all sorts; and, like horses, warranted sound and free from vice.

In one of these papers I observed that good cheer and slavery, Burton ale and strong negroes, were advertised all to be had in the street of Piety! (*calle de la Piedad.*)

From another I copied the following:

"Se Vende, una criada sana To be sold, a female servant, y sin Vicios, en cantidad de 300 sound and free from vice; price pesos. En esta oficina daran 300 dollars. Inquire at this office. razon."

I have frequently seen in the "Farmer's Journal" a cow with her first calf advertised for sale, but I never saw till now an advertisement like the following:

"Se Vende, una Mulatilla To be sold a young Mulatta, sana sin vicios, primeriza, con sound and without vice, with leche de cuatro meses. En la her first child, and four months' casa de Espositos daran razon." milk. Inquire at the house of foundlings.

CHAPTER VI.

Preparations to cross the Pampas—Leave Buenos Ayres with a formidable cavalcade—Region of thistles—Appetite of the *Peones*—*Gauchos*—Biscacho—Excessive heat—Pampa Indians—Trifling consideration set on a bullock—Confusion occasioned by a *Pampero*—Immense herds of cattle on the Pampas—Extent of the Pampas—Comparison of the scenery of the Pampas with the Steppes of Russia.

December 28th. Heat excessive, which makes one of the preparations for our journey across the *Pampas* very laborious, that of stowing our baggage-carts, two of which we have purchased. These are capacious, rude, uncouth-looking vehicles, with cane sides, and roof covered with hides, the body balanced upon two prodigious-

ly high wheels, for the convenience of passing through rivers. We have also purchased for our own conveyance a long coach, called here a *galera*, the seats running sideways, and the door at the end : being perfectly new, it cost one thousand and forty-five dollars, which at the present rate of exchange is not quite two hundred pounds sterling. The carriage we brought from England was found totally unfit for the roads of this country, the axletree being much too narrow and the wheels much too low ; besides, on the score of *capacity*, it was altogether inadequate to the accumulation of goods which all and each of us had provided, as well for general convenience as for individual comfort. Guns, pistols, hams, and sabres ; rum, brandy, powder, and shot ; chronometers, sausages, thermometers, barometers, and biscuits ; telescopes, books, pens, ink, and sugar ; a change of linen, razors, soap, lemons, and oranges ; after the most ingenious packing, and to say nothing of the contents of our own pockets, left but very scanty room for ourselves, and when each had settled into his place, there was just room, and no more, to give Carlo a berth on a Cheshire cheese.

According to the custom here of posting, each horse is ridden by a postilion ; and as each of our vehicles required four horses, we were under the necessity of hiring nine *peones** for the journey : one horse in each carriage is always ridden by a postilion from the post houses, for the purpose of conducting the animals home.

We also hired a *capataz*, who superintends the *peones*, manages the concerns of the journey, and is supposed to possess ingenuity sufficient to repair the frequent damages that occur ; for which purpose the requisite tools are provided, and amongst them, spades, shovels, and pick-

* All classes of workmen are called *peones*.

axes, must not be forgotten, as there are many opportunities of converting the *peones* into pioneers.

In the cool of the evening, after the moon had risen, we left Buenos Ayres, a formidable cavalcade; the galera taking the lead, the two baggage carts following, and the *capataz* bringing up the rear: our twelve horses, nearly as wild as the twelve postilions who mounted them, making fruitless efforts to free themselves from their dexterous riders. Some of these were negroes, but most of them, notwithstanding their originality and novel appearance, recalled forcibly to my memory the "Boys" of my native land.

The uncombed, dishevelled locks—the once black hat of many dented shape, pitched some how or other on the head—the rent garment of a species of frieze—the bare leg, indifferent to a squeeze between the horses—the spur (a most unmerciful instrument of punishment in this country) attached to the naked heel—the *devil-may-care* kind of way in which they galloped us through ruts, over stones, and round sharp corners—the flourish of the whip above the head—the wild shriek to encourage the horses to go faster when the animals were going as fast as they had power to go—the arch glance of pride and satisfaction occasionally cast backwards at the passengers within, and accompanied with a touch of the hat, evidently meaning, "There's driving for you, your honour!"—altogether awakened reflections in my mind that occupied me very happily until we stopped at La Figura.

This is the first post from Buenos Ayres, and here we were to pass the night, and have a specimen of the accommodation we were to expect upon a journey of seventeen hundred English miles. When we arrived, the inhabitants, I suppose, were all in bed, for not a soul appeared, and all doors were shut, except one of a detached

outhouse, consisting of four bare walls, a thatched roof, and mud floor, which was the post house, that is to say, the travellers' hotel. Those who chose to enter it did so, and spread their mattresses upon the floor: I preferred the open air, and selected a berth under the galera, the inside being occupied by our chief commissioner, who, of course, had first choice in these matters.

29th. Thermometer at noon 94° . We travelled this day only thirty-six miles, in consequence of being obliged to wait for one of the baggage carts, which we had lost sight of in the rear, and which did not come up until the evening, when we ascertained the delay to have been occasioned by the axletree taking fire.

30th. Thermometer 90° . Detained the whole of this day at Canada de la Cruz, the fifth post, and about seventy miles from Buenos Ayres, for the purpose of repairing the wheels of our carts. It must here be observed, that not a particle of iron, not even a nail, is used in the construction of these vehicles; they are every where secured with wooden pins, and bound with strips of hide, which very reasonably prevents it being a matter of surprise, that in a galloping journey they should occasionally require repair.

Baron Czettritz and I, to kill time, killed several couple of a very large species of snipe, which, with doves and plover, afforded excellent sport; but the sun soon compelled us to desist.

The country for leagues round is covered with thistles, which at this season are to be seen growing to the prodigious height of eight, and, in some places, ten feet: cattle which go in amongst them to seek a shade from the sun, and to feed upon the grass beneath, are completely concealed. These thistles form almost the only fuel for the few inhabitants who are scattered over this vast wilderness: not a tree is to be seen, with the exception

of a few peach trees, which have been planted in the immediate neighbourhood of the huts.

31. Left Canada de la Cruz, but got no farther than Areco, one post of six leagues, where the repairs of our baggage carts again compelled us to pass a day.

The great number of dogs that are to be seen at all the posts has been noticed by every traveller in this country. They are commonly of large size, and, from the abundance of meat which they devour, in good condition. They give immediate warning of the approach of strangers, whom they all sally out to bark at, but seldom injure.

In the evening we were sadly tormented by divers kinds of insects: they did not, however, prevent our *peones* from making a hearty supper, for these ten men devoured nearly two sheep at that meal. The sheep were full grown, of common size, and cost three shillings each. Killing, skinning, roasting, and eating, did not exceed thirty-five minutes. They were devoured, as is customary here, without bread, or vegetables of any kind. The latter, in this part of the country, at least, seem not to be considered amongst the necessities of life.

The Gauchos, or inhabitants of the endless plains called pampas, are, in appearance, a fine race, but, in comparison with the peasantry of England and France, little better than a species of carnivorous baboon. Their immense herds of cattle and flocks of sheep afford them sufficient means of existence without trouble, and on these they live contented; bread and vegetables are but little thought of; not that they *cannot* be had from the soil, but because it requires pains and labour to produce them. As to the comforts of social or domestic life, even of the humblest kind, they are altogether unknown; and yet I know not how it is, that I am neither disappointed,

dissatisfied, nor displeased, with any thing I have hitherto seen of the habits or the character of these people.

Doctor Johnson observes,—and the traveller in South America must admit the truth of the observation,—that “Every mode of life has its conveniences. The idler, who habituates himself to be satisfied with what he can most easily obtain, not only escapes labours which are often fruitless, but sometimes succeeds *better* than those who despise all that is within their reach, and think every thing more valuable as it is harder to be acquired.” It appears to me that the Gauchos are indifferent about any thing that is beyond their reach, and set no value on that which is hard to be acquired; *ergo*, they are satisfied with their life: and certainly I have never seen amongst them that abject, that degrading misery, which is so general among the peasantry of Erin go bragh!

January 1, 1826.—This new year we commenced early, for at three o'clock we were already upon our journey. The morning was delightful, and before the sun displayed his powerful influence, birds, animals, and insects, new to us, were to be seen in every direction, enjoying the freshness of the early hours. The *biscacho*, which some travellers have called the rabbit of the pampas, may, I think, with greater propriety, from its size and appearance, be compared to the badger, which it also equals in the severity of its bite and the tenacity of its hold: the flesh is by some considered excellent food.

As the day advanced the heat became dreadful, and two of our horses died upon the road from its effects, aided, no doubt, by the murderous spurs of the riders, which are used with an indifference towards the animal truly shocking.

With respect to the method in which horses are harnessed in this country, I am doubtful if the draught be

not more easy to them than by the mode adopted in Europe. Here, a very broad strong girth is used to the saddle, and under the flap, behind the rider's thigh, is attached an iron ring, to which the trace is secured by a *toggle*; so that the whole draught depends upon the girth, and there is but one trace to each horse. From the moment of starting, the animals are made to canter, and for three, four, or even five leagues, are seldom allowed to alter that pace, unless it be to quicken it into a gallop; trotting is never permitted.

Towards evening we arrived at the post of Arecife, and bathed in the river of that name; a considerable stream, but which the solar heat had rendered a complete warm bath. The post house here has a deep ditch round it, and a strong palisade to defend it from the attacks of the Indians, who make incursions into this part of the country from the Patagonian side, and have frequently driven off all the cattle within their range, murdering the men who chanced to fall into their hands, and making captives of the women and children. Not many days before our arrival, a large body of these barbarians appeared, but the neighbourhood being apprised of their advance, had assembled and defeated them. Measures are now being taken for the better security of the frontiers against them.

Baron Czettritz and I had an hour's excellent sport in shooting wild ducks, teal, snipe, and doves, all of which were in abundance. In the course of our rambles, I discovered a bullock that had fallen into a deep pit of water, out of which it struggled in vain to extricate itself. I immediately hastened, partly from motives of humanity, partly from supposing it a subject of importance to the owner, to acquaint the post-master, who was proprietor of the soil for many miles round. He was sitting under a shed, smoking a cigar, with not fewer than a dozen of

his *peones* lying on the ground around him, indulging in the *siesta*, all of whom I expected he would have instantly roused to rescue the bullock when I delivered my breathless account of its fate; but, to my surprise, and not a little to my annoyance, he received the intelligence with as much indifference as if I had informed him of the fate of a kitten. "I suppose," said he, with infinite composure, "it wanted to cool itself."—"But," cried I, with infinite warmth, "will it not be drowned?"—"Quien sabe!" (Who knows!) rejoined he, puffing away at his segar.

We left Arecife in the evening, and proceeded eight leagues to Fontezuelas, where we arrived very late, having wandered from the road to a considerable distance, in the dark.

In the middle of the night, when all our senses were lulled in sleep, a sudden gust of wind carried off counterpanes, sheets, and sundry pieces of wearing apparel, before the owners had time to secure them, or indeed before they could imagine what had happened. It was really curious to witness the scene of boisterous confusion that so instantaneously succeeded the calm and quiet of sleep: the dreadful war-whoop of the Indians, rushing into our bivouac, could not have occasioned more vehement sensations of alarm. I must confess, that when first startled from repose, I imagined that some such calamitous event had actually occurred, and in an instant I was in a position of defence with my double-barrelled gun. The baron, I suspect, was under a similar apprehension, for I observed him staring wildly round him with his *couteau de chasse* naked in his hand; an instrument he always carried about him by day, and at night placed under his pillow, *pour etre sur de moi-meme*, as he himself observed.

A few drops of rain from a heavy black cloud, that

hung like a mourning pall above us, with a loud clap of thunder, restored our wondering and wandering senses, and these were warnings of which we all knew the necessity of immediately availing ourselves. Here was to be seen a person, with legerdemain agility, bundling up his bed and bed clothes, but in so violent a hurry as to impede the accomplishment of his object. There were two others, each with his mattrass and bedding in his arms, met precisely at the narrow door of the post house, which each hoped to enter *first*, but where they formed so determined a barrier, that neither their own efforts, nor the clamorous impatiēce of those without, could force a passage for many minutes. There goes Mr. Scriviner in pursuit of his hat, and although right before the wind, with all sail spread full to the gale, he makes but little way, because particles of thistles *an' sic like*, form a very unsteady footing for bare feet, and because a broad-brimmed straw hat has decidedly the advantage in such a chase.

I cannot say that we suffered so much from the *pampero* as from apprehension, but we certainly had only time, after forcing the entrance into the hut, to save ourselves from a most violent rain, which lasted for two hours, and inundated the flat around us.

2d. A beautifully fine morning ; all nature refreshed by the last night's rain ; several ostriches and small deer were occasionally to be seen, without evincing much alarm at the rattling of our vehicles.

The following cut represents the mode in which the Gauchos take their game on the pampas.



METHOD OF CATCHING OSTRICHES ON THE PAMPAS.

We now bade adieu to the region of thistles, through which we had travelled for upwards of one hundred miles, and which, on each side of the road, extended as far as the eye could reach. At this season of the year, in consequence of these gigantic weeds being parched by the sun, the country, at a distance, had the appearance of being covered with ripe corn; but the scene was too monotonous to afford any agreeable impression. Madame de Stael, on her journey into Russia, remarks, "there is so much *space* that every thing is lost—" "*meme les chateaux, meme la population. On diroit qu'on traverse un pays dont la nation vient de s'en aller.*" Here, on the contrary, the traveller would say that he traverses a country where the nation is *yet to come*; for every thing exists as nature first formed it, unimproved, uncultivated, untouched.

On her lonely journey, Madame de Stael occasionally saw palaces, chateaux, and villages, and met with *several*

persons who complimented her upon her literary productions. All these circumstances indicate intelligence, art, industry, and the presence of human beings, however thinly scattered over the country ; but in South America, for hundreds of miles, the traveller sees nothing to remind him either of the one or the other. The wretched huts, called posts, cannot possibly be mentioned as an exception, for they serve only to mark the place where horses may be changed, but where no sort of accommodation can be obtained ; and where their half dozen inhabitants exist, if not in primitive barbarity, certainly in primitive ignorance of every thing in this world beyond their own limited necessities.

Madame de Stael mentions another circumstance that must have tended to break the solitude of her journey, at the same time that it proved she was in a country of rational beings—I mean the frequent passing of couriers. As to the swiftness, I dare say we can equal it upon the pampas in South America, for the gallop is the pace used from post to post ; and this day, with our heavy baggage carts in company, we have travelled twenty-four leagues of the country, a distance not less than eighty English miles ; but since we left Buenos Ayres, we have met with only one solitary courier ; and in a distance little short of two hundred miles, with but one travelling party, which proved to be General Miller and his aid-de-camp, on their way to Buenos Ayres, to embark for England. The many and severe wounds which this distinguished officer has received in the cause of liberty in the patriot service of South America, have compelled him to resign the governorship of Potosi, to seek a restoration of health in his native land.*

* “Memoirs of General Miller” have since been published, and those who have not read the interesting work, will, I am sure, cordially thank me for this little note strongly recommending it.

January 3d and 4th. The weather has been extremely hot, but from the current of air through the windows of our galera, which our quick rate of travelling kept up, we suffered less inconvenience than might have been expected. In our passage over an extensive morass, we had frequent and formidable attacks from the "wing'd squadrons of beleag'ring flies," against the stings of which stockings and light trowsers were no protection. We passed the river Saladillo, and one or two other streams, most of them insignificant; though in the rainy season, which is approaching, they would no doubt occasion trouble and difficulty.

After leaving the region of thistles before mentioned, we travelled for about 120 miles through a country of more agreeable aspect, though not a tree as yet appeared to our view, the whole being one vast field of rich pasture. This is the true pampa of South America, of which we have of late years read and heard so much in Europe.

Innumerable herds of cattle, the progeny, it is said, of six cows and a bull, imported rather more than two centuries ago from Spain, range at large over this ever verdant surface of inexhaustible luxuriance. I have been credibly informed, that their numbers at the present day bear no proportion to what they were before the devastating havoc of the late civil war; still they appear to a European eye in countless multitudes, and leave the traveller no longer cause to wonder that such fine animals should, at one time, have been slaughtered in *thousands*, merely for their hides.

It is imagined by many persons in Europe that the cattle here are, for the most part, perfectly *wild*, without any particular owner, and that, like the deer or the ostriches which roam amongst them, they may be hunted and killed by whomsoever pleases to do so. This I have been given to understand was actually the case some fifty

years ago; but of late, the value of hides and tallow as articles of exportation, has induced a very jealous care on the part of the cattle-breeders of the pampas, who have each a private mark branded upon every animal, and which is registered to families, with all the form and legality attending arms and crests in the herald's office. I do not, however, assert that this jealousy extends so far as to prosecute, imprison, or transport, any casual offender, who, in want of a hide, might kill an ox or a horse for his purpose. I am quite satisfied, that if a proprietor of a herd of cattle, in riding amongst them, happened to see a bullock or two recently killed and flayed, it would occasion nothing like the regret, horror, or revenge, that the melancholy spectacle of a hare or a pheasant treacherously noosed occasions in England. I doubt if the Gaucho would even pull up his horse to indulge for a moment in the contemplation of his loss; he might, indeed, as he passed the spot, exclaim, "Ho! what the mischief is this!" and continue his ride, whistling or singing, in tones ill according with feelings of sorrow.

This noble plain, entirely covered with pasture, extends many hundred miles into the regions of Patagonia, where it is yet unexplored. M. Humboldt calculates its area at 70,000 square leagues. "This area," he observes, "of the pampas of Tucuman, Buenos Ayres, and Patagonia, (they are all united) is consequently four times as large as the area of all France."

No lawn was ever laid down with greater precision by the hand of man, than this vast interminable plain has been by nature. Not a stone is to be seen on its surface. I can scarcely give a better proof of the flatness, and unvarying smoothness of this pampa, than by stating, that this day, (4th of January) we travelled with ease and facility from the post of Desmochados to that of Fraylemuerto, a distance called thirty-seven

leagues, but which cannot be less than 120 English miles; and this, considering our laden baggage carts, and delays at post-houses in catching horses, is assuredly rapid travelling; nor must it be forgotten that the *same* postilions (our peones) performed the whole task with out any symptom of fatigue.

5th and 6th. Very hot weather. We left the pampas, and had not travelled many miles in the province of Cordova, before the country assumed a park-like appearance, from trees and woods, which, since leaving Buenos Ayres, for the first time presented themselves to our view. The face of the country, however, still continued a dead flat, the soil to all appearance like rich garden mould.

The river Tercero, which is navigable in some places, we crossed without any difficulty; but at the Rio Segundo, about twenty-five leagues farther, towards Cordova, it required eight horses to drag each of our carriages through. Upon the banks of this river we had excellent shooting—wild ducks, snipes, doves, and wood pigeons in abundance.

We were particularly struck with the immense number of grasshoppers, as we imagined them, though they were, in fact, a small species of locust, which, for the last two days, covered the road and adjacent parts for miles, and upon which flights of hawks and kites were to be seen gorging themselves.

I have remarked that the scenery of the country has changed; yet from the long continuance of the wilderness, and the want of variety in the landscape, (the trees, for instance, algaroba, chanar, and pequillin, being all of the same species, mimosa) there is a monotony in the whole, which seems to have been already most accurately described by Madame de Staël in her "*Dix Années d'Exil*," when travelling through Russia; for although

that account refers to a country at the other extremity of the globe, it intrudes involuntarily upon the memory, owing to the extraordinary resemblance it bears in many instances, to the features which present themselves here, and also to the feelings they excite in the mind of the traveller. "Though I was driven with great rapidity, it seemed as if I never advanced, so monotonous is the country. I was under that sort of delusion, which sometimes comes over us at night, when we imagine we are going at a great rate, though never stirring from the spot. I fancied that this country was the image of infinite space, and that it would require eternity to travel through it. There is scarcely any variety of trees in it; we are even disposed to regret the absence of stones, so weary are we sometimes of meeting with neither hills nor vallies, and proceeding on without seeing any new objects."



POSTING IN THE GALERA ACROSS THE PAMPAS.

CHAPTER VII.

Arrival at Cordova—Expenses of a family in that city—Father Lorenzo—Attendants at table—Departure from Cordova—Vinchucas—Locusts—Jesu Maria—Post of Mocha—Change of scenery—Meeting of travellers.

January 7. Early in the morning we perceived, for the first time, a termination to the vast ocean-like plain, over which we had travelled for more than five hundred miles. Large blue mountains appeared before us in the horizon, and were hailed by our party with feelings similar to those excited by the discovery of land, after a voyage at sea. As we advanced, the scenery became truly grand; and was suddenly enlivened by the appearance of the city of Cordova, situated in a deep valley, upon the edge of a river, and extending like a vast panorama beneath us.

We descended a long steep hill, at which it was necessary to alight, and soon afterwards arrived at an hotel in the centre of the town, where we found good accommodation, and every attention that we expected. The road, or at least the *track*, from Buenos Ayres to Cordova, might, with little pains, and very little judgment, be shortened nearly one hundred miles; but, as neither pains nor judgment were ever exerted for the benefit or convenience of this country by its late unworthy rulers, it is a subject of no great surprise, that road making should have been neglected as well as every other improvement. As this road now runs in its primitive tortuous direction, it cannot measure less than 550 miles from Buenos Ayres to Cordova. This we traversed within the space of nine days, including all delays, and

sleeping every night *at* a post house,—not *in* one—for I never had a wish to change the canopy of heaven, for that of the cobwebbed roof, and troublesome insect inmates of a miserable hut.

Cordova is a neat and respectable town, but nothing in comparison with its importance in the time of the Jesuits, who held their head quarters here for many years, and acquired immense possessions throughout this fine province. These fathers, either for the pompous exhibitions of their imposing religion, or for the benefit of the souls of the inhabitants, thought fit to erect a grand cathedral, ten large churches, and several spacious convents for themselves, for Dominican friars, Franciscan friars and nuns, as well as a very extensive college for Jesuitical instruction; all of which were richly endowed, but are now poor indeed.

The college is conducted on liberal principles, but I am inclined to think that the religious houses are fast approaching general dissolution; for, although the priesthood have still a strong party here, and, to use a significant term of Lady Morgan's, many young "priestlings" are training up, and may be seen in the streets and at the doors of convents, yet, when the present inhabitants of these castles of indolence and ease have gone to give an account of all the good they have done on earth, there will be, in all probability, an end of the monkish tribe in Cordova, where, and for hundreds of leagues round, they once ruled with uncontrolled sway.

The present population of Cordova may be estimated at about thirteen thousand. The inhabitants are kind and friendly to strangers: the climate is fine, and the general state of the atmosphere dry, though the temperature is occasionally subject to great variations: the market is well supplied with provisions, and living

is altogether very reasonable. A family consisting of ten or twelve persons may rent a house in the city of Cordova, and live in the most respectable manner, on an income of from three to four hundred pounds a year. It will enable them to move in the highest circle of fashion, and to keep the luxurious appendage of a lord-mayor-like coach, elaborately gilt, and drawn by four fine mules, for parading the ladies round the public promenade, to which all the company of the town resort in full dress to pass the delightful evenings of summer, and where the most fastidious European taste will find nothing objectionable, either in the manners, dress, or attractions of the assembly, in which strangers at all times are sure to meet with a courteous reception.

During our week's sojourn in Cordova, I visited all the convents, in the hope of picking up old books, old manuscripts, old prints, or old paintings, but without the least success. The owners themselves did not know what they possessed, and the remains of the libraries (for they are now perfect wrecks) were very far from what might be expected, considering their former importance. In the Jesuits' College, I ransacked one room, containing what the present owners called *ancient books*, from top to bottom—not a book, out of nearly two thousand volumes, did I leave unexamined; but I found by far the greater number to be upon the mystical subjects of the Roman Catholic faith, the History of Saints, and the Life of Ignatius Loyola.

It is worthy of remark that, at the breaking out of the revolution in this country, for an extent of more than three thousand miles, including the cities, towns, and villages of Peru, Chili, and Rio de la Plata, there was but one old printing press, and this formerly be-

longed to the Jesuits of Cordova. The Spanish government rigidly prohibited that inestimable invention being made available, lest it should, as in other parts of the world, promote the progress of civilization, science, and liberty.

In the convent of Dominicans I became acquainted with Father Lorenzo, now in the eighty-second year of his age, of which fifty-one years had been spent in the gloomy cell where I found him at his frugal meal of fruits and bread.

His drink, however, was something more potent than the crystal fluid, being a bottle of excellent old Malaga, which, in the course of an hour's extremely interesting conversation, we finished in fair and equal proportions. The cheese, a donation from a fair penitent, as he informed me, was excellent, and the bread better than any I had hitherto eaten in this country. The water-melons were delicious, and the prickly pears of superior flavour. A cup of coffee, followed by a glass of aniseed, the richness of which made amends for the indifference of the former, concluded a repast which I really enjoyed for its intellectual gratification, quite as much as for the sensual pleasure which the refecton afforded.

Father Lorenzo had evidently a pleasing satisfaction in relating the past events of half a century to one who listened to him with such peculiar interest: the conversation terminated by a piece of wholesome advice upon abstinence, and a well applied moral discourse upon the eager pursuit of riches, and the dissatisfied disposition of man; "who," said he, "leaves his home, his family, and his friends, to traverse seas, mountains, and foreign countries, even at the hazard of his life, for the mere sake of procuring a little more dross from the bowels of the earth to add to that which he may already

possess in sufficiency for his wants; and, in the whole of his selfish and perilous career he perhaps seldom—may be *never*,” (he added with strong emphasis, at the same time looking up and outstretching his arms towards heaven)—“*never* thinks upon that God who has protected him throughout in health and safety, and who, in an instant, can snatch him from his adored treasure, and summon him to that world where all the riches of the mines you are now going to explore will no more avail than the soles of this sandal!—*Vanitas, vanitas, omnia vanitas, fili mi!*” said the old man, striking with his crook-handled stick the bottom of his sandal, and at the same time drawing his hand across his eyes, as if to remove a rising tear excited in pity of mankind.

“Farewell, Father Lorenzo!—thanks for your hospitality, for your pious admonition, and your well meant, well directed hint;” then, extending my hand for the farewell shake, he rose from his large heavy leathern-backed chair, and accompanied me round the extensive cloister to the door of his convent, with as firm a step and as upright a carriage as one who was not half his age. “*Adios, padre mio!*” said I; “I am now on my way to the college, to ransack the remains of the Jesuits’ library.”—“Go with God, my son! may the blessing of the Virgin accompany thee!” said he, embracing me cordially in his arms: he then retired to the choir to chime in with a voice which still filled its part in the bass.

During my stay at Cordova I made every exertion to provide myself with a servant, and had two or three slaves upon trial; but I found it hopeless to induce them to relinquish their lazy and uncleanly habits, while it was impossible on my part to submit to them. A servant here would consider you a monster if you disap-

proved of his smoking in your presence, or of his indulging in many little familiarities which in England would be considered somewhat *more* than extraordinary. Our chief commissioner purchased a mulatto for three hundred dollars, and I offered two hundred and fifty for a negro, but the owner would not bate a *rial* of his demand of two hundred and sixty dollars; and as I did not think he had movement, shape, and figure, worth the money, I declined the purchase, although he was warranted sound and free from vice.

As I sat this day at the head of the dinner-table in a large vault in the hotel, it was amusing to observe the countenances, the costumes, and operations of six or seven half-naked attendants. One, a negro, with a face the polish of which Day and Martin might envy, was cleaning the inside of a spoon with his thumb, previously to handing it to a gentleman who had just called for one, to take soup out of a large deep dish which was in the middle of the table, and out of which he ate in preference to using a separate plate. Here stood a mulatto, *en chemise*, washing the plates in a corner of the room as they were taken from the table; there his companion, in similar costume, with a long stick, furnished at one end with a large plume of ostrich feathers, for the purpose of fanning the company, and at the same time to disperse the flies which filled the room in tormenting swarms; yonder another *nigger*, with eyes and mouth extended, in dire amazement at us white-faced foreigners. But the pencil of a caricaturist could alone do justice to the scene.

13th. Exceedingly hot weather; re-packed our baggage carts, and after providing all the requisites for travelling, left Cordova in the evening. The *requisites* for travelling mean, in this country, every thing that convenience and necessity demand; for, except in the

towns, which are hundreds of miles apart, nothing of the kind can be had. Not only a canteen with plates, knives, forks, &c. but also tables, chairs, cooking utensils, beds and bedsteads, must be carried by those who know not not how to *rough it*, and who cannot dispense with the comforts of civilised life. Beef or mutton may be always obtained in the journey across the pampas, but nothing else must be expected; the want of even pure water is occasionally a severe privation, for in some places, where there is no river in the neighbourhood, and where the people have not taken the pains to sink a well, they have only a large reservoir, close to the habitation, in which the rain is *caught*—I cannot say *preserved*, for no care is taken of it. I have frequently drunk from those holes, which have become receptacles of frogs, toads, and reptiles of divers kinds, known and unknown; this, however, is not the case at houses of tolerable respectability.

In Buenos Ayres, rain water is considered a great luxury, and in some houses tanks are formed for preserving it in the under-ground stories. A gentleman of my acquaintance informed me that the tank under his house held upwards of six hundred pipes of water, and I never heard that this under-ground ocean occasioned dampness in the apartments above.

On leaving Cordova we crossed the river, which is broad, but not deep at this season of the year; we then ascended a steep hill, and found ourselves in a country thickly covered with shrubs and bushes, amongst which we saw partridges in great numbers, and of two kinds; one such as we have in Europe, the other full as large as a moderate sized barn-door fowl.

We arrived at Chacarilla, the first post, six leagues from Cordova, where the host and hostess, perceiving we were "decent people," obligingly warned us against

sleeping within their house, in consequence of the danger to be apprehended from *vinchucas*, a species of Brobdignag bug, which infests most houses in this country during hot weather: their bite is extremely severe, and if rubbed or scratched, from which it is difficult to forbear, occasions very serious inflammation. In size and appearance, these insects resemble the common beetle, but are much more active and evidently more sagacious, for they seem to watch and reconnoitre at the entrance of their retreats before they venture out. They are dreaded by all travellers, and, in the present case at least, by the natives; for, when I enquired how the owners of the house managed to protect themselves from these reptiles, it was replied, that they never slept in their house when the weather admitted of sleeping out of it; and when the rains kept them within, they never slept at night, which is the time the *vinchucas* leave their holes and corners in search of blood. The family at this post are respectable and extremely civil.

14th. This has been a day of excessive heat, and to the unfortunate horses of excessive suffering; the immense spurs of the postilions have been making dreadful havoc, which neither humane entreaties nor angry remonstrances could put a stop to. Often have I been the cause of additional suffering to the poor beasts when my interference was meant for their relief; their heartless riders would then only scoff at what they thought a squeamish sensibility, and could never understand the object or necessity of sparing a horse from being whipped or spurred to death in the performance of his work. Mares escape this barbarous treatment, being never worked, unless it be to tread out the corn in time of harvest: to use a mare for riding in South America is a subject of ridicule and scorn.

After my arrival in this country, I had many times

heard of the extensive ruin occasioned by locusts, and when at Buenos Ayres I was informed, that a year or two before, they had not only devoured fruits and vegetables, but even destroyed large trees, by eating the shoots and younger branches, and in many instances the bark from off the trunk. The truth of this information has been confirmed in the course of to-day's journey, by the evidence of my own eyes, when passing over a very large tract of country where all the trees were in a withered state; not a single leaf was to be seen upon them, and the greater part of their branches and stems were stripped of their bark, while the shrubs seemed as if they had been swept away by a scythe; the whole exhibiting the singular and extraordinary appearance of the dreariness of winter in the midst of summer.

It was impossible to view with indifference this scene of desolation, and impossible not to reflect upon the blessings of that happy land which is free from such ruinous plagues. Here, the locusts suddenly appear like a mist or dense cloud, and wherever they alight they entirely consume all the fruits of the earth. I have heard it said, that when every vegetable has been destroyed, they will then prey upon each other. They rose in swarms before us as we drove along the road, while others remained so thickly spread upon the ground that the horses destroyed them at every step.

We passed through Jesu Maria, an ancient possession of the Jesuits, of which there remain six or eight huts, and the ruins of two large churches and a convent; the last of which had a magnificent garden attached to it, and was surrounded by a high stone-and-mortar wall, the first we had seen in the country. The situation was picturesque, and all around exhibited signs of former care and industry; but it seems as if the instruction of the fathers had not been of so solid or permanent a na-

ture as their buildings, for the present generation have inherited from them little more than the mere name of Christians.

The family at the post-house of Macha, where we stopped this night, is highly respectable; the females are above the usual standard, and the master a man of intelligence beyond what we had hitherto been in the habit of meeting with. I confess this is not saying much in his praise, where the knowledge of drawing out an agreement for the sale of so many square leagues of land, or a receipt for the purchase-money of a slave, had, up to the period of the revolution, been deemed quite sufficient for ordinary education.

Books were rigidly prohibited by the Holy Inquisition; reading, therefore, was out of the question; nor have I yet met with a single book in the house of any private person since I left Buenos Ayres: even in that city, where education has made such rapid strides of late years, and where there is much literary talent, books are not yet generally considered as forming a necessary and agreeable part of the furniture of every house.

The rising generation, however, throughout South America, have advantages which their parents had not. A liberal education is now not merely permitted, but imparted to all classes where there are the means of doing so. Books are sought after, and collections will no doubt take place, where, hitherto, even a Guthrie's Geography has been prohibited.

A delightful bath of clear running water is to be found in the orchard of the post-house of Macha, and good duck and snipe shooting in the neighbourhood.

15th. This day we have travelled but twelve leagues, in consequence of the extreme difficulty of the way, for I cannot call it the road, there being only tracks of horses, or of wheels, to guide us in our rugged pro-

gress. The rumbling tumbling we have endured in our galera, in its bounces over roots and broken branches of trees, into ruts and through thickets, is admitted by us all to have been the most violent exercise we ever underwent, and excites our surprise how it has continued without fracture or dislocation. Four Christians, such as we are, one dog, two paroquets, (saved from being put into a pie at one of the post houses,) boxes, packages, books, guns, pistols, biscuits, cheese, and ham, have been jostled, pounded and compounded, pitched, and tossed, and crossed, throughout the day's journey, with all the celerity of a juggler's balls. Habit, however, becomes second nature, and six or seven hundred miles' travelling has caused us to endure this uneasy kind of *perpetual motion* with much less annoyance than we probably should have felt had we not been thus trained to it.

The country has now altogether changed in aspect; we are in the midst of hills and valleys, some of them rocky, some sandy, and some with rich pasture, where large troops of fine mules are bred, chiefly for the supply of Peru. Game abounds every where; partridges of three kinds, small, large, and larger; snipes, ducks, teal, doves, pigeons, and parrots. We stopped on the road to shoot our supper, which we have been in the habit of doing latterly, with great success and amusement.

In the course of the day we passed over vast tracts of country desolated by locusts. About a mile from the post-house of San Pedro, where we stopped for the night, there is a delightful bath, formed by Nature in a deep rocky ravine, where runs a small river, in which we indulged for an hour.

16th. We travelled this day over rugged hills and

mountains, and through stunted woods many leagues in extent : I have not yet seen a tree of any magnitude, or fit to be called *timber*. Twenty or thirty miles of our journey lay through a straggling forest of palm trees ; their appearance may at first interest a stranger, but, except that cattle eat the fruit or seeds which fall from them, they are neither useful nor ornamental.

The insufferable heat compelled us to stop for three or four hours in the afternoon at Pozo del Tigre. The neighbouring mountains are thickly wooded, and the dwelling of tigers, of whose depredations among flocks and herds I heard many stories from the postmaster, with some few instances of their attacks upon *Cristianos*. M. de la Condamine, in his travels in South America, written nearly a century ago, observes, that the tigers he saw in that country, "differed neither in size nor beauty from those of Africa." He also mentions, that on the banks of the river Amazons they are the most dangerous adversaries of the crocodile, and perhaps the only animal that dares to encounter it. When the tiger approaches the brink to quench his thirst, the crocodile raises its head to seize him, as on similar occasions it attacks oxen, horses, and mules. The tiger then strikes his claws into the eyes, the only undefended part of the crocodile, which, instantly diving into the water, carries down the tiger, who suffers himself to be drowned rather than forego his prey.

In the evening, we proceeded six leagues farther, to the post of Portezuelo, where the jurisdiction of Cordova terminates, and where that of Santiago del Estero commences.

We had just finished our delicious meal of snipes, doves, *dust*, and the liver of a sheep, all fried together

with onions, when a vehicle, which I shall not call a carriage, arrived at the post-house with two officers from Potosi; this being the second time that we had met with travellers in a distance of seven hundred miles. These officers, Don Mariano Diaz, an officer of cavalry, and Don Angel Sanches, an officer of artillery, were from the army of Peru, with leave of absence from Bolivar, after eight years' hard service, of which they gave us an extremely interesting account. In speaking of their regiments and the conduct of their armies in the numerous battles in which they had fought, bled, and conquered, the climax of their praise was in comparing themselves to the troops of Napoleon Bonaparte: they never once alluded to the conquerors of those troops. "Napoleon never had finer troops, a better disciplined army, or braver warriors!" was several times affirmed in the course of conversation; but I am disposed to think that Napoleon's glory would never have attained the pitch it did, if his warriors had not been "better disciplined" than the motley armies of South America; nor would his marshals have received the coronets and crowns of dukes, kings, and princes, had not their military talent surpassed the capacities of Indians, Negroes, Samboes, and Creoles, although the courage and conduct of these latter in the field have, in many instances, been eminently displayed. Notwithstanding the fatigue of both parties, after a jolting journey in the heat of an overpowering sun, we sat up conversing and smoking cigars until past midnight, when I laid myself down, and soon "steeped my senses in forgetfulness."

CHAPTER VIII.

Performances of Post-horses—Dispute with an Alcalde—River Saladillo—Delightful serenity of the nights—The Balsa described—Excessive heat—Santiago del Estero—First glimpse of branches of the Cordilleras.

Jan. 17th and 18th. Our journey has been through a loose sandy soil, with rocks, bushes, and a few trees of larger size than what we have hitherto seen, resembling in some degree the oak.

Just as we were about to leave the first post, a cart with two travellers arrived, on their way from Potosi to Buenos Ayres. After a few questions relative to the state of the rivers, we continued our route, and had not proceeded far, before the postilions, who had conducted the travellers, passed us with their return horses in full gallop, which, as I have elsewhere observed, is the usual pace. The stage the travellers had just concluded was seven leagues; thus these horses, before they reached home, would have toiled nearly fifty English miles, without ten minutes' rest; for, as to feeding or baiting, that is never even thought of. The great abundance of horses admits of long and sufficient intervals of rest, otherwise no animals could endure such severe work.

The destructive ravages of locusts again appeared. Every tree, for several leagues on each side of the road, as far as we could see, was stripped of its leaves, and many of their bark, presenting to the view a withered wilderness, which required only frost and snow to complete the scene of desolation.

Every day, as we now advanced, we were satisfied that no English carriage could go through, or over,

such places as our galera had passed, without being broken or upset. Some of the places would appear quite impracticable to a person who had never travelled out of England; yet, with four or five horses, we proceeded at a rate of between eight and ten, and often twelve miles an hour. Sometimes, where high grass and weeds had covered the tracks, we rolled softly along, as if driving through a meadow; sometimes we dashed over fallen trunks, decayed stumps, and roots of trees; sometimes, through briars, and bushes, and extending branches; the peones encouraging their horses with loud wild shrieks, and flourishing their hide whips over their heads, which are usually covered with a handkerchief, loosely flowing from under the hat, to catch the breeze and counteract the rays of the sun; their various-coloured ponchos floating in the air behind them, their trowsers tucked up above the knee, leaving the leg naked; while the disordered appearance of the tackle, and the large heavy ship-like vehicle, with the half naked passengers within, dissolving under a nearly vertical sun, formed altogether a most extraordinary scene, worthy of being sketched by the pencil of a Wilkie.

We saw many large flocks of parrots, screaming hideously to warn their young brood, which they seem aware are considered a delicious ingredient for a savoury pie.

In spite of our desire to proceed, we are every day compelled to stop several hours at a post-house, on account of the oppressive heat, to which neither man nor beast can be exposed without the most severe sufferings; 98° of Fahrenheit is the lowest mid-day temperature to which we have been accustomed for several days.

At the post-house of San Iones we passed a couple of

hours, listening to accounts of the ravages committed by tigers and lions, which are very numerous in the neighbouring forests. The tigers, although inferior in size and beauty to those of the East Indies, are still very formidable, and commit extensive depredations amongst the cattle, particularly young horses, which it appears are their favourite prey. The lions here do not deserve the name, being a very inferior species of that noble animal, and so cowardly as never to attack any thing but sheep or goats.

We drove for several miles through a forest of the *cactus*, which afforded us a proof of the manner in which trees or plants degenerate when out of their native soil. Here were to be seen, of the magnitude of trees, plants which, in European conservatories, are generally but a few inches high, vegetating in flower-pots. Humboldt says, "near Maniquarez (in the Caraccas) we measured a cactus, the trunk of which was more than four feet nine inches in circumference."

The night of the 18th January we passed at the village of Oratorio Grande, where the traveller, who is not very difficult to please, may find sufficient for his wants; and, among other things, water-melons, which we considered delicious, being the coolest and cleanest eatable we had tasted for some days. The water, however, at this village, is procured from a muddy, brackish river, which was so warm, even long after sun-set, that we found it quite uncomfortable when bathing, and experienced but little refreshment. We slept as usual in the open air, the night being delightfully serene, and of such a temperature as to require but the covering of a single sheet.

19th, at five o'clock, when about to rise with the sun, as was our custom, we suddenly felt ourselves shaken in our beds, and thought it was occasioned by a dog or

a pig, frequent visitors, prowling about for the fragments of the last meal; we therefore all, at the same moment, looked under our beds, with the intention of chasing away the intruder. General Paroissien, who slept in the carriage, looked at the same moment from one of the windows, to see who or what had shaken him out of his last slumber; and whilst we were all in the attitude of surprise at not seeing any thing that could have disturbed us, still less have occasioned so sensible a rocking as we experienced, voices were heard in every direction, calling out *temblor! temblor! temblor!* the people, at the same time, flying from their houses. An earthquake it proved to be, the first that had been felt in this part of the country for many years.

We remained the whole of this day at Oratorio Grande to repair the damages our carts had sustained, owing to the extremely rugged roads we had lately travelled. These roads, indeed, are in such a state, as to shake, not only the carts, but every thing within them into atoms, unless packed and secured with more than common care; an office which must not be left to be performed by the peones, to whom care, trouble, neatness, and ingenuity, are unknown.

In the course of the morning, we purchased a young fat bull, and tied him to a tree to be in readiness for slaughter when the heat of the day should be past. A short time before the hour of death arrived, the alcalde of the village, having drunk till *drunk* of aguardiente, and forgetting the payment we had made, seized the bull, and led him off as his property. I was immediately despatched by our general to reclaim what we justly considered our lawful right, and soon the alcalde and I came to words so loud, and to actions so threatening, as to alarm the whole village; out ran men, women, children, and dogs, a formidable pack, all evidently auxiliaries of

the alcalde. Upon seeing this hostile array, I made signals to our party for assistance, which, it is but justice to state, were obeyed with alacrity by our peones, who advanced in the most spirited manner to cover the retreat which I had already prudently commenced. Upon the coming up of the reinforcement, which was headed by one of our negroes, I returned to the charge, and quickly came to louder words and more dreadful threats with the alcalde, who, perceiving our determination to seize either him or the bull, waved his hat and gave a loud *halloo!* when out rushed six or seven terrific-looking fellows from a neighbouring thicket, with drawn sabres, and two with muskets, one of which had a lock and in appearance was ready for the destructive purposes of war. I hesitated with becoming coolness, and viewing my troops, as every good general should do, with feelings of paternal consideration, I again ordered a retreat, which was promptly obeyed, and what it lacked in order and discipline, was amply compensated by all the swiftness we were capable of exerting. The alcalde, imagining that we had retired for farther reinforcement, and not knowing what might be the consequence if we *advanced* with the same rapidity with which we *retreated*, thought fit to make overtures of peace, and with that intent despatched to our head-quarters a flag of truce with a letter, of which I shall give, as every faithful historian is bound, a true and accurate translation.

It may be requisite to mention, that an alcalde is obliged to supply all troops passing through his district with the provisions they may require, and that, in failure of his duty in this respect, he is liable to punishment from the governor or government of the province. Our alcalde, concluding that a *general* ought to have *troops* with him, in order to avoid this punishment, and at the same time to ascertain our real strength, very pertinently

commences his letter by enquiring of the *general* "what force he brings?" The document was written in such strange hieroglyphics, and was delivered in such breathless anxiety, as to indicate a state of mind very different from what Nelson evinced when he wrote his letter to the prince royal of Denmark, soliciting an armistice, at the time of his celebrated attack on the naval force drawn up for the defence of Copenhagen.

Signior general, as they tell me, I hope you will inform me of the force you bring, in order that I may supply it with what it requires; for the signior governor has appointed me in this place to observe whatever disorder occurs, and therefore I hope to know for my governance.

God keep you many years.

Oratorio Grande, 19th January, 1826.

JOSEPH VICTOR DIAZ.

This important affair terminated by our receiving two sheep and a goat in lieu of the bull which had escaped; these were immediately immolated and prepared for our banquet, after which we all sought repose, and soon forgot the troubles of the day.

On the 20th, we passed the brackish river Saladillo, on the edges of which, from the effects of the heat, quantities of fish lay dead, alluring flights of hawks and kites that were not easily disturbed from their surfeiting repast. The Saladillo is a very dangerous river to pass in the rainy season: it required eight horses to drag our empty galera up the opposite bank, which was accomplished with difficulty; we ourselves waded across, being happy to dabble in any stream. If the people here were capable of exertion, they might with very little ingenuity construct a bridge, or at least a raft, which would soon amply repay their labour. Some such convenience

might indeed have been expected from the late governors of the country, when we consider that this dangerous passage is on the high road leading from the capital of one province to the capital of another ; in short, it is that communication between Buenos Ayres and Peru, by which, for upwards of two centuries, millions in gold and silver have been conveyed for embarkation to Spain. The withdrawing the precious metals was the whole and sole object of Spain ; improvement or public benefit was never attempted, which makes it quite impossible to view this neglected country without feelings of the utmost abhorrence of the government that so long ruled it.

I shot this day a bird called here *chaha*, the first I had seen of the kind ; it is about the size of, but heavier than, a turkey ; is of a dark grey colour, with two curved horns, resembling the spurs of a game-cock, at the end of each pinion, with which it can inflict desperate wounds.

We have now got into that part of the country where the primitive language of Peru, called Quichua, is spoken, and where the peasantry scarcely understand Spanish.

The heat of this day has been dreadful, and not a drop of water was to be obtained between the posts, for distances of ten, fifteen, and twenty miles. The greater part of our journey was over a flat, burning, sandy soil, a perfect desert, where Nature's self seemed lifeless ; not a bird nor an animal of any kind was to be seen, but here and there, in dismal unison with the scene, a wooden cross was fixed to denote the spot of an untimely grave.

We ended this truly fatiguing day's journey at the post of Mochimo, where we arrived late, by the light of a brilliant full moon. The night was altogether beautifully serene, and when we laid ourselves down to rest under the splendid canopy that sparkled with countless worlds of light above us, we could not refrain from expressions of delight at the luxury we thus enjoyed, and

which exemplified the generally admitted fact, that nature has seldom given a bane without accompanying it with an antidote. Here our sufferings under a scorching sun in the day were amply compensated by the sweet salubrious air of the night; it not only invited us to expose ourselves to its refreshing influence, but actually gave and preserved that health and strength, which enabled us to sustain the fatigue and exhaustion we underwent for the greater part of the twenty-four hours, and which, without this revivifying period of repose, it would have been utterly impossible to withstand for any length of time.

21st. Thermometer in the shade at mid-day 101° , and in the carriage at the same hour 103° . We stopped for some time on the banks of the river Santiago, which, from rain that had fallen farther up the country, had now become so deep and rapid as to prevent our passing without unloading our carriage and carts, and towing over every article in a *balsa*, an original kind of boat, of which it may not be thought tedious to give a full account, as well as the detail of our passage across.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, having travelled about twelve leagues, we arrived at the village of Loreto, where we stopped at the post-house, "to take counsel and to take tea," and sent forward our capataz, with one of our party, to explore the pass of the river, distant from the village about half a league. Their report was, that the river was much swollen, and impossible to be passed without the assistance of *balsas*, unless we became Robinson Crusoes, and took time and patience to fell timber and construct a raft; and here again we thought, that in the course of two hundred and fifty years' dominion over this portion of the New World, the Spanish government might have been at the pains to construct a bridge of some kind for their own convenience, even though that of the com-

munity at large was indifferent to them. Be that as it may, the excessive heat was of itself a sufficient impediment to our becoming industrious; we therefore availed ourselves of a machine of primitive simplicity, and leaving Loreto, accompanied by half a dozen peones of the country, we arrived at the edge of the river, where we dismounted from our carriage and unloaded our carts. The peones immediately prepared, out of two bullocks' hides with which they were provided, two boats for receiving their freight; a preparation which I inspected with more than ordinary interest, for I could not comprehend how our heavy baggage and ourselves were to be conveyed safe and dry across a broad, deep, and very rapid river, in the single hide of a bullock! In circumstances of navigation, a jolly-boat had hitherto been the smallest bark I had ever been in on perilous occasions; but all my nautical practice could not prevent me, on viewing the vessel in which I was about to embark, (with all my property, and two paroquets in a cage,) from betraying symptoms that no indifferent person could have witnessed without setting me down as a man of a somewhat nervous constitution.

The boats were constructed in a much shorter time than I require to describe them, although their description may be given in a few words, thus:—Take a dried bullock's hide, pinch up each of the four corners, put a stitch with a thorn to keep those corners together, and your boat is made. For use, place it upon the water bottom downwards; then, to prevent its natural tendency to turn bottom *upwards*, put one foot immediately in the centre, and let the other follow with the most delicate caution; thus, standing breathless in the middle, you are now to shrink downwards, contracting your body precisely in the manner in which, probably in your childhood, you have *pressed a friar into a snuff-*

box. This position, however inconvenient, serves to conceal a considerable share of timidity from your companions, though not from the spectators, who line the banks of the river, indulging in loud wild laughter. When crouched down in the bottom, sundry articles are handed in, and ingeniously deposited round you, until the *balsa* sinks to about an inch, or perhaps an inch and a half from the water's edge; it is then considered sufficiently laden. A naked peone now plunges into the stream. "Mercy on us!" is the natural exclamation; for the first impression from the shock is, that yourself and all your property are going to the bottom; but you are instantly relieved from this very probable conjecture, by the peone's taking hold of one of the corners of the *balsa*, (which projects like that of a cocked hat,) and asking you—*Está V. bien?* "Are you comfortable?" To this question you reply by a nod of the head, for the use of the tongue is lost, but even if words were at command, you may not wish to commit yourself by expressions diametrically opposed to feelings and symptoms; or you may wish it to be imagined, as is sometimes practised in perilous situations, that your profound silence indicates indifference of danger, or may pass for coolness and presence of mind. Silence also conveys an idea of gravity, and of resignation to your fate, which, indeed, is no more than becoming, when you feel persuaded that nothing short of a miracle can prolong your existence beyond a quarter of an hour. The nod being given, a peone on the shore imparts a gentle impulse to your tottering bark, while the peone in the water, keeping hold of the corner with one hand, strikes out with the other, and swims away with you to the opposite bank. The moment you touch it, so great is your joyful surprise at arriving perfectly safe that all the perils of your voyage are forgotten, and

you soon find out (as is often the case in life,) that your imagination had represented dangers and difficulties, where, with a little caution, there existed neither the one nor the other.

In the foregoing manner, we and the whole of our luggage crossed this rapid river, our two boats plying backward and forward with the greatest ease and expedition, carrying each voyage three or four heavy portmanteaus and other articles. Two passengers may cross at one time in a balsa, squeezed up as I have before described, taking especial care not to make the slightest movement, which would inevitably capsize this crazy and truly original bark.

Our carriage and carts were dragged across, one after the other, with the aid of all the horses and all the men. We speedily re-loaded them, and proceeded through a deep sandy country, to the post of Silipica, where we stopped for the night.

22d. Before the sun rose we were on our journey, hoping to reach in the evening the town of Santiago, only thirteen leagues distant; but, when we arrived at the river, the same that we passed yesterday, and which here again crosses the road, it was so much swollen that the usual ford was absolutely impracticable. While we were considering whether we should bivouac for the night, a man from the opposite bank swam across, and offered to conduct us to a place whence, for twenty-five dollars, he would convey us, carriage, carts, baggage, and all, in safety to the other side. We instantly agreed with him, when he gave a loud Indian yell to his companions, twenty of whom plunged into the river and soon joined us.

The first operation was to cut, break, and tear a passage through the thicket that covered the banks, in or-

der that the carriages might arrive at the designed place; this was quickly accomplished, when they were severally dragged and floated across by these dexterous swimmers. We ourselves, with our baggage, crossed in *balsas* in the same manner as yesterday, except that the force of the current now required the assistance of three men instead of one to each *balsa*. The passage was accomplished in about three hours, during which time it was curious to see the rapidity with which the river increased and filled its banks; had we been one day later, we might have been detained several days; for, at this season of the year, such detention is not uncommon, owing to the torrents that roll from the Cordilleras into the rivers, sometimes compelling travellers to wait three weeks before the water subsides sufficiently to insure a safe passage.

It is impossible to describe what we suffered this day from the heat. We all agreed that it exceeded any thing of the kind we had ever before experienced; and well it might, for in the afternoon the thermometer in the carriage stood at 104° , and out of it in the shade at 103° , and in the *cool* of the evening it was at 92° . I have been informed, that this district of Santiago del Estero is considered the very hottest spot in South America. It is surprising that none of us suffered from the great quantity of water we drank, particularly in the muddy state in which alone it was to be had. During the heat of the day, that is, from nine o'clock in the morning until nearly five in the afternoon, I venture to assert, that the water bottle had not ten minutes' repose at any one time: still the water had not the power of quenching our insatiable thirst, and, being too warm to afford refreshment to the palate, a greater quantity was consequently swallowed, yet without any of that reluctance

which mud and sand might be supposed to create; indeed, since we left Buenos Ayres, with very few exceptions, we have not enjoyed the luxury of a draught of clear or cool water. The warmth of the river was, perhaps, also in some measure the cause of our feeling no injury from bathing when heated, for we plunged in two or three times in the course of the day, when the perspiration was pouring down our bodies, and we never perceived the slightest ill effects from so doing.

23d. Continuing our journey through a flat country of sandy soil, with much wood and shrubs of one sort or other, amongst which we saw the cochineal plant, we arrived early at the city of Santiago del Estero; and although its two large ancient churches, with their ruined turrets, claimed a certain degree of respect, I could not call to mind a town of higher note with which to compare it, than that of Bulruddery, in the neighbourhood of Erin's capital, and in this comparison I protest I do honour to the city of Santiago.

On arriving at the post-house, the first object that attracted our attention was a basket of fine grapes. Had Tantalus succeeded in reaching the forbidden luxuries that were spread before his longing eyes, he could not have devoured them with greater avidity than we did these bunches of delicious muscatel, which might have made a little fortune for the young woman who owned them, had she been aware of our appetites and inclinations. As it was, she seemed perfectly satisfied with a couple of shillings, which purchased abundance for us all, even to repletion. We had not been half an hour at the post-house before our apartment was crowded with fruit-women, bearing upon their heads large wooden bowls, with the finest grapes and figs, offered upon terms that no one could dispute; but we were already more

than satisfied, and looked upon the luxuriant heaps with so much indifference, that we would not have given a *rial* for all the fruit in the new world.

Santiago del Estero, so called from *estero*, which signifies a lake, many of which are formed in its neighbourhood by the overflowing of the river in the rainy season, is a very ancient town, and was formerly a bishopric. Its trade, at one time in respectable activity, consisted chiefly of cochineal, dyed worsteds, ponchos, and wooden stirrups; the two latter articles having, it may be supposed, a very extensive sale in a country where every man or boy wears a poncho and rides a horse.

The manufacture of ponchos exhibits the industry of the females, whose handiwork they are. Like clothes, or any other article, they are made of different qualities, to suit the means and condition of the purchaser. We each purchased one of a medium quality, at the price of from five to seven dollars, but which a few years ago sold readily at nine and ten, a proof of the present decline of trade, or rather of the great diminution of specie, which is sensibly felt throughout the whole of this country. Perhaps the prices may also be affected by the recent import of similar articles of cotton manufacture from Manchester.

Ladies in Chili and Peru sometimes make ponchos, with a mixture of silk and *vicuna* wool, so fine as to pass through the ring of a finger, and of colours so tastefully disposed, as to obtain the fancy price of two hundred dollars; every thread and particle of the piece made by hand, for machinery is totally unknown. A poncho, for the information of my home friends, is an oblong square garment, having a hole in the centre, through which the head passes. It is worn constantly by men, and may be called the cloak of the country. Ladies use it only on horseback.

In this district abounds a tree called algaroba ; from its seed is made a beverage, of which the people are very fond, and when taken in moderation is considered very salubrious. This district is also celebrated for wheat which produces eighty-fold, although very little labour is employed to raise it.

The most incredible story I ever heard, or the most extraordinary account I ever read, of the numbers in which locusts sometimes appear, I can now no longer doubt, and, I must confess, it is requisite actually to behold them before any idea of the real truth respecting them can be formed. This evening, after dinner, as we went out to sit half naked at the door in the street, according to the custom of the country, to enjoy the cool air, or rather, I should say, the *lesser heat* of the day, we were astonished at seeing the atmosphere in a state resembling a thick mist moving rapidly over us, but which we soon discovered to be locusts. They were all going in the same direction, like rooks returning to their home. We could not say how long they had been passing before we saw them, but for upwards of an hour we sat gazing at them with increased astonishment, and when the sun set, as far as the eye could reach we perceived no diminution of their numbers. On they went in their ominous flight, seeking some devoted region where to repose, every fruit, flower, and vegetable of which, in a few hours, they would utterly consume.

The earthquake of the morning of the 19th of this month, had been felt here at the same time as with us at Oratorio, but in a stronger degree. It was preceded by a violent hurricane, the effects of which we saw on our approach to this town ; large trees torn up by the roots, with shattered trunks and branches lying in

every direction, for the space of at least three miles, resembled the wreck of an armada upon a sandy beach.

We remained during the 24th at Santiago, and in the evening had much thunder, lightning, and heavy rain.

25th. This was the first cool morning we had felt for a length of time, and we took advantage of it to continue our journey at a very early hour. The route still lay through a sandy though fertile soil; the country too is thickly wooded, and the trees are larger and handsomer than those we have hitherto observed. We saw many partridges, gray pheasants, doves, and, where the ground was marshy, large snipes; also parrots and paroquets in screaming flocks: lions and tigers frequent the interior of the woods.

At Capilla de Ximenes, the first post, nine leagues from Santiago, I saw a man making a *lasso*, the noose for catching animals, which has been noticed by all travellers in South America, and the surprising dexterity with which it is used, both on foot and on horseback, has often been described. It is made of thin strips of hide, neatly plaited together, like the lash of a whip, having a small iron ring fixed in one end, through which the thong runs when thrown. The lasso used on horseback should be eight yards long, and that on foot ten.

In the afternoon we arrived on the banks of the river Santiago, which here, for the third time, crossed our route. We were soon observed from the opposite side by the Indians, called here *nadadores* (swimmers), who make a livelihood, or at least obtain a few dollars, by conveying passengers and their luggage across the river in balsas. Some of them on horseback galloped from their huts to the banks, each dragging after him a hide tied to a long string. Of these hides a small

fleet was fitted out in a few minutes and launched into the stream, each vessel being accompanied by two or three *nadadores*, male and female indiscriminately, who seemed as much at their ease in the water as so many mermaids and mermen.

While, however, the chief of the party was stipulating with us for the freight and safe conduct of ourselves and baggage, which he was pushing to an extravagant price, an accidental circumstance interrupted the treaty, and disappointed all the golden hopes of the owners of the fleet. The slave we purchased at Cordova, and who acted as one of our postilions, being heated and dusted by his equestrian exertions, (the day having turned out broiling hot as heretofore,) could not resist the temptation of refreshment which the river presented, and untoggling his horse from the trace—for the trace is a fixture—rode into the stream, expecting to find depth sufficient to swim animal and all, but reached the opposite bank upon a sound footing, without the horse being much deeper than the saddle-skirts. Upon seeing this, we ordered four postilions to ride in abreast, to make sure of the passage, and these passing over in the same manner as the first, we determined on saving our cash, and at the same time all the trouble and bustle of embarkation. Eight or ten horses were immediately tied to the galera, which was dragged across without any accident, except the loss of a store of peppermint-drops, which being in the bottom of the carriage, were overflowed and dissolved into a puddle resembling milk. The carts, being on much higher wheels than the galera, passed *sin novedad*, (without novelty,) as we say in Spanish. Ourselves and Carlo followed *à la nage*, being very happy at the opportunity of floundering in the water, although too warm for any refreshing benefit.

It is customary to give to the same river different names in different places. Here, for instance, this river is called *el Rio Hondo*, the deep river. It was the southern boundary in ancient times of the territories of the Incas of Peru; and it now divides the province of *Santiago del Estero* from that of *Tucuman*.

The road from the river, for several leagues, to the post of *Vinara*, where we stopped for the night, was the worst we had yet travelled, and, after nightfall, it required unusual ingenuity to conduct the horses, in order to steer clear of holes, ridges, stumps, branches of trees, and other obstructions, which even in daylight it was not easy, nor at all times possible, to avoid.

It was late and dark before we arrived at the post, to which we were guided for a considerable distance by the barking of dogs, which frequently cheers the traveller, by announcing to him his approach to an abode of temporary rest. To us, however, a post-house afforded no convenience; we seldom even crossed their doorless thresholds: if we obtained from the scanty store of the inhabitants a few eggs, or some cow's or goat's milk, it was the utmost we expected; and in placing our beds, generally round the *galera*, each fixed upon a spot to his fancy, where we slept as sound as in any chamber of the most luxurious mansion.

26th. Thermometer at noon 101°. Our journey this day, for upwards of fifty miles, was through a fine, park-like country, with rich and abundant pasture, sometimes reaching to the feet of the postilions as they drove through it.

In the afternoon, we discovered in the distance the first chain of mountains connected with the *Cordillera de los Andes*. As evening drew on, their scenery became truly beautiful, and was viewed by us with pecu-

liar interest, from our not having seen, with the solitary exception of the mountains of Cordova, one single hill upon which to repose the eye in a distance of a thousand miles. But it must not be imagined that the vast plain was traversed with indifference; far from it: there was always something to excite curiosity, sufficiently at least to keep alive our enjoyment of the measureless journey, the fatigues and privations of which were all forgotten in the interest that the novelty created.

As we approached Tucuman, we drove for about two leagues through a thick forest; and, although we had five horses to our galera, it was with very great difficulty that we were dragged through the thickets and the spreading branches which overhung the road. At nine o'clock at night we arrived in the town, and took up our quarters at the post, the hostess of which, a fine handsome creature on a large scale, gave us up one wing of her empty house, in which we established ourselves with great comfort and convenience.

CHAPTER IX.

Tucuman—Fertility of its soil—Petty revolutions—Visit to an orange-grove—Botas de potro—Purchase of horses—Expense of shoeing—Visit to the convent of Lules—Carnival revels—Character of the Tucumanos.

The city of San Miguel del Tucuman, the capital of the province of the same name, is a tolerably respectable town, and is considered to be the best situated of any in South America; for a subject of general remark, and one of the many complaints against the Spaniards,

is the very bad situations they fixed upon for the towns and cities they erected in this country. Tucuman is seated in the midst of one of the most fertile plains in the world, producing rice, Indian corn, wheat, barley, the sugar-cane, tobacco, sundry fruits and vegetables, and whatever else the husbandman may desire to cultivate. Black cattle, horses, mules, sheep, and goats, roam in large flocks and herds, in superabundant pasture. The mountains, about six leagues from the town, are covered with wood and timber of the finest kind; orange and lemon trees abound upon the declivities, and the summits are clothed with rich pasture, whither the cattle are driven during the hot months of summer.

There is not a spot, perhaps, in the New World, I doubt if I may not say in the world at large, that holds out prospects more inviting to emigrants with small capital than the province of Tucuman; and I do not think it requires the gift of prophecy to assert, that many years cannot elapse before the blessings which nature has lavished upon this long-neglected land, shall be estimated as they deserve, and turned, perhaps by another people, to a better account than they have hitherto been by the present indolent inhabitants, who raise the fruits of the soil in so listless and slovenly a manner, that not half the return is yielded which might be expected from common industry; besides, the greater portion of the land, fertile in the extreme, remains as it was at the formation of the world.

From the woods of Tucuman are constructed all the best carts which ply to Buenos Ayres, Jujui, and other parts of the country; they have also furnished immense axle-trees for the water-wheels in use in the different mining districts: I have been informed that some of those sent to Potosi took three years in transporting,

and cost from one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars each. I have seen several samples or specimens of the wood of these mountains, of which there are no fewer than sixty different species, some of them adapted to the most beautiful workmanship of the cabinet-maker.

Tucuman, from its situation and the advantages which surround it, might be made, and possibly may become, the centre of the arts and commerce of a great nation in the future history of the world. Empires of glorious renown have disappeared, and others greater still have gradually risen, where previously all was barbarism and desolation. This succession of rise and fall commenced in the East, whence it has progressively arrived at the utmost boundaries of Western Europe; and what physical or moral reason can be assigned that it is "thus far to go and no farther?"—that the fairest portion of the globe is not in its turn to partake of the acknowledged mutation in the revolving events of the world? This may perhaps by some be called "the enervating indulgence of the imagination," but there are others who, I think, will admit, that such a subject is not undeserving of contemplation, because it comes within the pale of those laws and regulations by which the universe is governed.

It seems to be a conceded point, that nothing is impossible to perseverance and skill. What a promising field for both presents itself here! It might indeed be difficult to find a parallel to the happy valley of Rasselas, where so few valleys exist; but beyond all doubt, the vast uncultured, unpeopled, and hitherto disregarded plains which are here to be met with, might be made, without any peculiar exertion or skill, the abodes of industry, fruitfulness, happiness, and wealth. In making this assertion, I am supported by the opinions of many, and it may be found at no very distant period that I

have not, in the language of Rasselas, been "listening with credulity to the whispers of fancy, or pursuing with eagerness the phantoms of hope."

Tucuman suffered severely in the late war of independence, nor is it yet in the full security of peace; it being only a few weeks since a Colonel La Madrid collected a party of armed men, and deposing the governor, a Colonel Lopez, elected himself to that office; preferring a situation in which he might share a few loaves and fishes, to one in which he obtained nothing at all.

The public and the public papers made some remark upon the incivility and rudeness of the proceeding, and some were of opinion that it was illegal to turn a gentleman by open force out of an employment to which he had been officially appointed by the government of the country; it was even hinted that he should appear before the congress of the nation at Buenos Ayres to give an account of his conduct; but there the matter rests, and Colonel La Madrid continues, and is likely to continue, in possession of the governorship of Tucuman, until somebody else aspires to it, and takes the trouble to turn him out, in the same manner in which he turned out his predecessor.*

These little revolutions are confined merely to a few friends of each party; the commonalty view the struggle with as much indifference as a fight between two school-boys, not caring which side conquers.

I never before experienced, and probably never shall again, on the 27th January, such a day of heat as we have just passed. At five o'clock in the afternoon the

* This has actually taken place; Colonel La Madrid has been deposed with as little ceremony by Colonel Somebody else, who will also have his day, and so on until order is permanently established.

thermometer stood at 108° ! It is every where remarked, that this year has been one of unusual heat and drought, but I do not hear of any illness in consequence: as for our own party, although we have been so much exposed to it, we have hitherto enjoyed perfect health; perspiration never ceases, and yet no loss of flesh is perceptible in any of us.

29th. A total change of weather has taken place, to the relief of every living creature. The sun has not shown himself the whole day; the rain has been unceasing, and the thermometer has fallen to 79° . We may soon have an opportunity of judging whether excessive heat or rain is the most agreeable for travelling, and as it is the nature of man to be dissatisfied with what he has, and to wish for what he has not, before we arrive at Potosi we may sigh for a return of the weather we have so long considered almost insufferable.

Did you feel the earthquake? At what hour? Where were you at the time? What did you fancy? What did you do? These are questions I am putting to every body I chance to converse with, and I do not think I ever felt greater interest on any subject than in the various accounts I hear respecting this phenomenon. Upon feeling the shock some thought of their riches, some of their children, and one or two of their wives; but the first impulse of all seems to have been to leap out of bed and run into the street, without any thought but that of personal safety through the interference of the Virgin. Two or three villages farther north have suffered severely from the late shock, but none so much as Las Trancas, sixty miles distant, which has been converted into a heap of ruins. It is said to have been the severest earthquake felt in this neighbourhood within the memory of man; that which, about forty years ago, destroyed the town of Esteco, distant about one hundred miles from Tucuman,

with all its inhabitants, (for *all* were swallowed up) was not so sensibly felt here.

I have not yet been able to ascertain the exact limits of this tremendous effort of Nature, but from Oratorio Grande, where we felt it—and we know not how much beyond it may have extended—to the last mentioned village of Las Trancas, is a distance, in a line nearly north and south, of about three hundred and fifty miles. If the same distance, or even half of it, be allowed east and west, what a wonderful mass of earth, including mountains, forests, and rivers, has been rocked like the cradle of a child at the same moment of time! for all accounts agree as to time—"a few minutes before sunrise."

February 1st. We all rose with the sun, and mounting horses which we had in readiness, proceeded, on this delightful summer's morning, to visit an extensive grove of orange trees upon the sides of the beauteous mountains that rise out of the fertile plains of Tucuman.

These mountains run in a north-westerly direction for a distance exceeding two hundred miles, thickly wooded from their base to their summit with timber of various kinds, the bark of some serving for tanning and dying. The orange trees grow to a size unknown in Europe: in our ramble, which was not very far up the mountain, we saw many full thirty feet high, five and six feet in circumference, and laden at the same time with blossoms and with fruit, but the latter wanting many weeks of being ripe. When in season, cart-loads drawn by bullocks, are conveyed to the town by any one who chooses to take the pains of gathering them; no exclusive right being claimed either to them or to the fine timber among which they grow. Flocks of humming-birds, attracted by the flowers, were to be seen

displaying their exquisite plumage with infinite variety in the sun, whilst fluttering their moth-like wings over the fragrant cups from which they sipped their tiny draught.

Before leaving the orange grove, we indulged in the luxury of a cold bath in the mountain stream, and then wound our way through a charming wilderness, over-run with magnificent acacias: beautiful creepers in full flower: curious *air plants* suspended from branches high above us, with many shrubs and flowers highly valued or unknown in other climes, here flourished disregarded in all the exuberance of nature. With truth it may be said of the whole of this district—

“Thy very weeds are beautiful! thy waste
More rich than other climes' fertility.”

From hence we went to a distant hut, where we procured *beef* of course, with melons and water-melons in abundance. After this repast, each stretched himself upon the ground for the *siesta*, and, with his saddle under his head, passed an hour as free from care as any mortal of earth's mould. Then mounting our horses, we returned home in the cool of a fine evening, which concluded the amusement of a most agreeable day.

I have lately supplied myself with a pair of light summer boots, called *botas de potro*; that is, boots of the skin of a colt, which are, I believe, peculiar to this country; but in any country where a horse is to be had, they also may be had without the necessity of employing either boot or shoemaker, for there is not a single seam, or a single stitch used in their construction; leg, foot, sole, being all of one piece, and fitting admirably. This may appear difficult, but nothing is more simple. Here is the receipt.—Take a horse, cut off his hind legs considerably above the hocks; pull the skin down over

the hoofs, just as if you were pulling off a stocking; when off, scrape the hair from the skin with a sharp knife, and remove every particle of flesh that may have adhered to the inside: hang the skins to dry, and in the process of drying draw them two or three times on your legs, that they may take their shape, form and figure. The upper part becomes the mouth of the boot; the round projecting part of the hock, the heel; the foot terminates above the hoof, where it is cut to the required length. The whole operation may be performed, and the boots ready for use, in the course of a week. The people here do not even sew up the end of the foot, but allow the great toes to project for the convenience of the stirrup, which is made so small as only just to admit them, and they occasionally support the whole weight of the body. The boots are very light, and in every sense "easy as a glove;" I have seen some that had been tanned, and had soles added, which render them the perfection of comfort.

3d. This day our carts returned from the *maestro*, the appellation given to every master-workman of every trade, whether cart-maker or watch-maker, blacksmith or silversmith. We expected our carts to have been repaired in a day or two, but forgot that a day's work in Europe equals that of three in America; however, even now that they are returned in fit repair, we cannot proceed upon our journey, having just received a communication from the person with whom we have contracted for horses, that we must banish the idea of leaving Tucuman till after the carnival, for that nothing can induce one of the lower classes to absent himself from the three or four days' riotous foolery of this ancient festival, in which postilions, as well as other people, deem it absolutely necessary to join.

The posts from Tucuman to Salta have been so much

destroyed in the late civil wars, that travellers are compelled to contract for horses from the residence of one horse-breeder to that of another. For this accommodation the charge is double that of posting, being two rials (one shilling) per mile for each horse, instead of one rial, which is the postmaster's established charge; and I think it will be admitted, that no very great advantage is taken in such a case of absolute necessity: the chances are that, in a similar situation in Europe, *twice* the common rate of postage would not ensure horses to a traveller.

We have been purchasing some horses for our private use, from the Rev. Doctor ———, head clergyman of Tucuman, who is also, and has been for upwards of forty years, the principal horse-racer, horse-jockey, cock-fighter, general gamester, and *roué déterminé* of the province. General P. paid the enormous sum of five ounces of gold (17*l.* 10*s.*) for his horse, a handsome dark bay; Baron C. paid twelve dollars (2*l.* 8*s.*) for his, a haughty long-backed, long-legged, long-tailed grey; I paid fifteen dollars (3*l.*) for mine, a *spiry*, spirited little bay nag, which was, in fact, the property of his reverence's *niece*. The price of the three horses was sufficient to support comfortably any reasonable person in the town of Tucuman for at least three months, but did not last his reverence as many hours, having lost the whole sum at *lansquenet* immediately after receiving it.

In the evening, whilst riding out upon *el Cura de Tucuman*, the name given to my new purchase, I chanced to meet a gentleman upon a stout, well-conditioned, strawberry-coloured horse, with an English saddle and bridle conspicuously new. The whole appearance was good, and such as would have attracted the notice of an amateur of horse-flesh even in Hyde Park.

After a little observation of the animal, I rode up

alongside the gentleman, and, saluting him, informed him that it was "a fine evening." This preliminary to conversation, general in every country in the world, was returned in full measure by the gentleman, for the Americans pride themselves upon compliments. "I observe, cavallero," said I, "that you have got a very handsome English saddle and bridle."—"Si, señor; I purchased them a few weeks ago at Buenos Ayres," replied the cavallero.—"And pray, sir, what may they have cost at Buenos Ayres?"—"The saddle alone, sir, cost me three ounces of gold," replied the cavallero. Ten pounds! for what was probably shipped in London for four, is no bad profit for the merchant, thought I.

"You have also got as handsome a horse, sir, as I have seen in this country." "He is one of my own breeding," replied the cavallero, "and nearly the last of several hundred which I possessed before the revolution." "Several hundred!" said I, in a tone of surprise. "Why, sir," answered the cavallero, "I supplied the government *gratis* with two hundred superior horses at one time, during our late struggle, and I had upwards of three hundred stolen from me in one night, by the king's troops, to say nothing of repeated thefts and losses in a small way, both by friends and foes." "Then, sir," said I, "I suppose you are one of the principal horse-breeders of this country?" "Not as to numbers," replied the cavallero, "but in the goodness of the breed, no man in the province equalled that of José de Santillan." José de Santillan! 'tis a pity, thought I, that I have not got Gil Blas de Santillan in this little adventure.

"As you have no doubt sold many horses in your time, Don José Santillan," said I, "perhaps you may have no objection to sell one now?" "Not in the least, if I get a fair price," said Don José, patting his horse

upon the neck, and letting him feel "insidiously aside" the left spur, for he perceived my object in a moment. "And pray, sir, what may be a fair price for the animal you are riding?" said I. "Oh!" said he, "try him first, and if you like him, we shall have no difficulty upon that matter: the price is a *friolera*," (a mere trifle.) The tone and manner, however, in which Don José de Santillan pronounced this last sentence, did not encourage me in a hope of obtaining the strawberry for a *friolera*.

"Well, sir," said I, "let us change horses, and in five minutes I shall satisfy myself upon the qualities of yours." We accordingly changed, and after walking, and cantering, and galloping, and twirling and twisting my friend's horse in every pace, except that of the trot, which was totally unknown to the animal, I turned to its owner, saying I approved, and begged to know the *friolera*. "Will you give me five ounces?" said Don José de Santillan. If he had insisted upon ten I would have given them with pleasure; but the suppliant tone of "Will you give me?" assured me I might have him for less; besides, it is an unheard-of circumstance to give the whole sum *asked* by the seller of any article in this country: you must always bargain. I therefore immediately replied, "Don't you think five too much?" "Well, what will you give, cavallero?" said Don José. "I will give you," said I, "four as pure ounces of gold as ever were struck in the mint of Mexico; and you must admit, Señor Santillan, that it is a sporting price for a horse in the province of Tucuman."

"Your offer is a very fair one, cavallero; and, although my horse is worth double the money, you shall have him." We rode home to the post-house, where I paid Don José Santillan four ounces of gold, say, fourteen pounds, for his nag, which in London would meet with

a hundred purchasers happy to give a hundred guineas for him; it may therefore be supposed I was pleased with my bargain. The name the horse went by was *Tortuga*, (tortoise,) to which his round compact shape and great strength fully entitled him.

Our purchases being all made for travelling, we thought it expedient to get them shod, a protection with which horses in this part of the world are seldom favoured; during the whole of our journey from Buenos Ayres I never saw a horse with a shoe. In Tucuman there happens to be a smith, because many people going thence to Peru wish to have their horses shod, the mountain roads being very different from the *pampas*, where an animal may gallop from one post to another without putting his foot upon a pebble. As the horses were not to be worked, but to be driven loose after the carriage to Salta, we had given orders to shoe the fore feet only, and, to our utter consternation, the charge for each *pair* of shoes was four dollars and a half! (eighteen shillings,) a price at which a tolerable horse might be purchased. Baron Czettritz was the loudest complainant on this occasion: he thought it extremely hard that he should be charged more than one third of the *whole* value of his horse for only *half*-shoeing, and told the smith in very good German-Spanish, what he afterwards told me in very good German-English, that "he could shod get in his country all four horse foots *für sechzehn groschen*." The smith, smoking his cigar, calmly replied, (and I thought reasonably enough,) "that we were all at full liberty to take our horses to the Baron's country to be shod, but if we required that operation to be performed in Tucuman, we must pay four dollars and a half, or go without—*no hai remedio*."

6th. Hired four post-horses, but postilions were out of the question, all of that class being deeply engaged in

the business of the carnival. We therefore *bribed* four of our *own* peones to ride them, and, putting them to our galera, we filled it with ladies and their children, whilst we ourselves and others escorted them on horseback, and proceeded to visit the convent of Lules, at the invitation of Father Antonio, a jolly Dominican friar, the prior, lord, and master, of the whole extensive establishment.

We passed, for about three leagues, through as fertile a plain as any in the world, here and there producing different crops, previously alluded to, in great luxuriance; fig trees, and *tunas*, (prickly pears, a delicious fruit,) abounding among various others. The whole of this plain, which embraces a territory of many square leagues, formerly belonged to the Jesuits, who founded the convent, which, with all its ample appurtenances, is now in ruinous neglect. The situation of this ancient building is beautifully picturesque, being upon a slight eminence, rising out of the plain near the foot of the large and richly wooded mountains before mentioned. Round it, or nearly so, flows the Lules, a considerable river, winding through the plain for about fifty miles, before it discharges itself into the river Santiago; it abounds in fish, and about a hundred yards from the convent supplies mills for grinding corn, for husking rice, and for sawing timber; which, before the revolution, brought in a considerable revenue to the Dominicans, who here succeeded the fathers in all their possessions.

This property, a short time ago, attracted the notice of a passing traveller, an Englishman he was said to be, who entered into a contract with the proprietors for the purchase of the whole concern; but after the agreement was made, the intended or pretending contractor left the country, and has not since been heard of. The mills alone seem to present, and no doubt will yet become, a valuable source of emolument.

The convent of Lules, with its appurtenances and extensive estate, including some cattle, may be purchased for about three thousand pounds; and a few hundred pounds more would be sufficient to make it an elysium; its fine climate and well chosen situation have already performed half the task. Plenty, superabundant plenty, might be obtained at little cost; for, with common industry the soil is capable of producing any thing that grows under the sun.

Lules, I have been informed, was the name of an ancient tribe of Indians, who inhabited this district at the period of the Spanish conquest, and who for a considerable time obstinately maintained themselves against their invaders.

The inhabitants of the convent are now reduced to a scanty few; the cells, except four or five, are deserted, and grass grows in the crevices of the tiled floor of the cloisters, where formerly the sandal-footed monks paced away the hours in prayer and praise, or where, as often perhaps, in merry mood and in pleasanter pastime, they took their constitutional exercise, anxiously waiting, not the tolling of the solemn-toned bell that calls to vespers, but the merry tinkling that invites to the refectory. And this leads me, quite *à propos*, to mention a roasted turkey, of enormous size and of delicious flavour, fed upon Indian corn, which Friar Antonio, with a dignity of manner truly becoming, placed with his own hands as the middle dish of our second course in the canonical repast he had most munificently provided. The stuffing of this delightful bird I shall never forget, so long as the plump, good humoured countenance and tonsured head of our reverend host exist in my memory: in the evening when I mounted my horse to take leave, I exclaimed from my very heart, "God keep you a thousand years, Father Antonio!"

8th. Being Ash Wednesday, the carnival ceased. The scene exhibited in the city of Tucuman for the last three or four days was probably rarely exceeded in uproarious confusion. Labour and work of every description were suspended, all order was abolished, master and man, officer and soldier, lady and gentleman, all joined pell-mell in the jubilee, with an animation and activity quite unexpected among a people of such indolent habits. The principal mirth appeared to consist in throwing handfuls of flour, or powdered starch, into the eyes of those who seemed least prepared for the assault; and for which purpose all persons, high and low, old and young, carried in their handkerchiefs, their pockets, or in the corners of their ponchos, ample store of this ammunition, the price of which advances considerably in consequence of the lavish expenditure that on this occasion takes place, morning, noon, and night, for three days and nights successively, and, it must be admitted, sometimes with very ludicrous effect.

The country people, from many leagues round, with their wives, or sweethearts, and children, enter the town, mounted upon horses or mules, some with guitars, some with drums, some singing, others crying, screaming, and bellowing, in tones increasing in shrillness and horrible discord in proportion to the quantity of bad wine, *chicha*, or aguardiente which has been imbibed. Troops of these frantic beings, with two and sometimes three upon one horse (for few go on foot), and occasionally females in the Amazonian or Turkish seat, but without the oriental grace or dignity, might be seen at all hours in full gallop through the streets, racing for the wager, perhaps of a pot of *chicha*, their favourite beverage, made either from the seed of the *algaroba* or Indian corn.

No Hibernian has a greater esteem for his whiskey, or indulges in it more freely, than these people in their

chicha ; nor do the joyous sons of Erin, when influenced by their blood-exciting liquor, flourish their *shillelahs* with more fatal dexterity over the brows of their fellows in a fair, than do the Tucumanos the immense knives which they constantly carry about them, and use, like the sword of Hudibras, "as well for spitting as for fighting." One of our *peones*, in a convivial party, received so desperate a *stoccado* from a friend, that we were obliged to procure another in his stead.

If a Tucumano possesses a horse, a lasso, a knife, and a guitar, which they all seem to delight in, he considers himself amongst the independent sons of earth, and beyond the caprices of fortune. As for his existence, that costs him neither pains nor trouble to support; a piece of beef or mutton can be had any where: and this, so far as my observations have been hitherto directed, appears to me to apply pretty generally to the *Gauchos*. Not that I pretend to include the whole race in one harsh sentence, or to say, as some have said, that *all* are no better than the uncivilized Indian. It is equally illiberal and unjust to assert that they are devoid of feelings of humanity and benevolence, and that no intelligence and good sense are to be found amongst them. Like all men, they are formed to be rational beings, and only require education and good example to induce them to exert their faculties, as well for the greater benefit of themselves as for that of the community at large. At present they seem not to understand that public good is also that of individuals, and therefore are utterly indifferent to the former. But after all, where the advantages arising from emulation and industry are denied, as hitherto has been the case in this devoted country, idleness and indolence must be the natural consequences.

From the barbarous treatment which I have seen them inflict upon horses, I was at first disposed to set down

the lower classes as a set of cruel heartless savages, but, upon closer acquaintance with them, I am inclined to agree with Schmidtmeier, who, in his "Travels into Chile," remarks, that although they are excessively cruel to animals, it is from the absence of feeling, not from the indulgence of passion. They will goad, spur, and lash a beast as long as it can go, and if it should become disabled, stand still, or fall down, as I have frequently seen, they will quietly take off the saddle, whilst singing a stanza of a song, place it upon another, and leave the unfortunate sufferer to die upon the road without losing their temper; neither the owner of the animal, nor the rider, nor the spectator, (unless it be some foreigner like myself,) will show the least symptom of being moved or offended at the scene.

I also agree with Schmidtmeier, in never having witnessed a really passionate state of mind among these people. Their naked children and their numerous dogs (as he observes, and I have seen) will stand round the place where the fire is burning, in the way of whatever may be doing, trying to steal what they can, and deaf to all commands to move, or to fetch any thing that may be wanted; but no feelings of ill-temper or impatience show themselves. I leave it to philosophers to decide if this patience be a virtue, or if it be merely the effect of that innate indolence which forms the chief characteristic of the South Americans, and for which, it is probable, they are indebted to Spanish parentage and Spanish government, quite as much as to the influence of climate.

CHAPTER X.

Disputed account—Departure from Tucuman—Interesting scenery
—Arrival at Las Trancas—Its ruins—Description of the recent earthquake.

February 9th. Order and reason being in some degree restored, we procured postilions and were ready to leave Tucuman early in the afternoon, but were detained full three hours in disputing the charges of our hostess. In most countries, it is imprudent to take up quarters and enter into expense without previously ascertaining the probable limits. Here, as in France, not to do so is to expose yourself to certain imposition, or dispute, or both. Whether this omission on our part is to be attributed in the present case to the lateness of the hour and our great fatigue when we arrived, or to the black eyes and *embonpoint* of a landlady, whose appearance far excelled what we had for some time been in the habit of seeing among persons in her capacity, I cannot possibly say; but we certainly took her integrity upon *trust*, which was more than she was disposed to give us the benefit of when about to depart from her house.

We had been fourteen days in Tucuman, on two of which we all dined from home, and on one of them, be it for ever remembered, with Friar Antonio at the convent of Lules. Bread, milk, and eggs, were supplied in abundance for our breakfast, and our dinner was quite as good, I believe, as any cook in the province was capable of dressing, but such as "pampered menials" in England would scarcely condescend to sit down to. A large silver dish full of a glutinous composition of bread, vegetables, hog's lard, and the cook knows what besides, called *sopa*, invariably occupied the centre of the table; a fowl

torn to pieces and fried with grease, several lumps of beef transfixed upon a long stick, which served as the spit for roasting, young ears of Indian corn boiled (a delicious vegetable,) were the daily dishes of our dinner. Our liquor, I admit, was in abundance, for the *well*, supplied by a copious spring, was situated within five yards of the door of our apartment. For this fare, and our barn-like lodging, the bill, delivered upon half a sheet of long paper, was (translated) precisely this:—

“Account - - - 110 dollars.”

This concise method of handing in our bill evidently saved the trouble of addition, subtraction, and detection of little teasing errors; but as, on many other occasions in life, in steering clear of Scylla we run foul of Charybdis, so in the present case, on being freed from the pains of inspecting a detailed account of different items, we were plunged into vehement dispute upon the possibility and impossibility of our expenses amounting to one hundred and ten dollars. General Paroissien exclaimed, “Heavens! what a charge!” I took up his dying note in the key of indignation, “*Que verguenza!*” “What a shame!” Baron Czettritz allowed me no time to expatiate: “Mine goodness, vas me! I pay no!” he pronounced with remarkable firmness, and banged his hand upon the table. Mr Scriviner simply asked “What’s the matter?” The hostess said, “*No tomare menos!*” Englished, “I’ll not bate a farthing!” We then *all* spoke together, as *all* people do when *all* wish to be heard and *nobody* listens, which makes it impossible for me to recount precisely what passed in discussing this exorbitant charge. I shall therefore briefly state, that the landlady at length yielded to the pressing instances of so many cavalleros, and accepted sixty-eight dollars in full of all demands, being at the rate of a dollar per day each, or thereabouts, for five persons. We did not think it worth while to in-

clude the two servants we retained among us, because the sixty-eight dollars was a very fair remunerating price for our expenses to any hotel-keeper in the province of Tucuman; though to a person who has never left England, the sum of say, thirteen pounds ten shillings, cannot appear extravagant for fourteen days' lodging, and twelve days' board, for five gentlemen and two servants.

At five o'clock, our account being settled and friendship restored, we embraced our landlady, who was all this time in a summer dishabille after the *siesta*, and, notwithstanding what had occurred, our parting was exceedingly tender, even to pressure of hands and a chaste kiss.

The evening was delightful, and the scenery altogether charming, as we wound through the thickly-wooded plain, which extended to the first habitation, four leagues distant from the city of Tucuman, where we halted for the night, spreading our beds as usual in the different spots most inviting to our fancy.

10th. The day had not dawned before we were up in our ponchos to feed our horses, which we had secured to stakes all round us. For their accommodation, we had provided ourselves with nose-bags, and two or three sacks of barley were packed in the baggage carts, although there was no absolute necessity for so doing, the pasture being abundant on each side of the way, and affording an opportunity for the animals to feed as they were driven gently along.

Our journeys were now limited to twelve or fifteen leagues a-day for the convenience of the horses, which I have before mentioned it was necessary to hire at Tucuman, to convey us to some intermediate horse proprietor between that town and Salta, the post-masters not being sufficiently supplied. On this occasion, in addition to the

thirteen horses which we required, twenty or thirty others were driven on loose by a peone, who stops at distances of three, four, or five leagues, when the loose horses are caught by means of the lasso, and take their turns in the carriages; the others being driven on gently, feeding as they go, until their turn arrives to be again yoked. The loose animals are always accompanied by a steady old horse with a bell tied to his neck, called the *cencérro*, out of hearing of the tinkling of which the other animals seldom stray: therefore, whether in the day or the night, they are suffered to range at large, without any apprehension of their being lost even in the thickest forest, nor is there any danger of their separating from their own herd to join another if they chance to meet with one.

This day's journey lay, for the most part, through a closely wooded country, in which were some glens of great beauty, and along the edges of which our route was traced, the mountains upon our left adding much grandeur to the scenery, which was diversified at every turn and more than usually interesting. We employed ourselves in building chateaux and cottages, and laying out parks, in various situations as we drove along, and some of us may live to see the day when our imaginary designs shall be put into execution by succeeding strangers, and worked upon in reality. We stopped for the night in the neighbourhood of two or three huts belonging to a cattle breeder, but, for any convenience or accommodation to be obtained, we might as well have reposed upon the summit of Chimborazo.

11th. Fresh breezes and pleasant weather, with a coolness indicating the approaching termination of summer. The country still continues wooded, but the soil is not so fertile as we have hitherto seen in this most luxuriant province. At noon, we arrived at what, about three weeks ago, was the respectable village of Trancas, now

a heap of ruins, the houses being for the most part destroyed by the late earthquake, of which this neighbourhood may be called the centre of violence. It was not without feelings of peculiar anxiety that we entered the village of Trancas, for, having been informed that the most disastrous consequences of the awful event were to be seen here, and having ourselves experienced the principal shock, although upwards of three hundred miles distant, we felt an increased interest in viewing its effects.

The country round being covered with trees, we did not observe the village until within the distance of two or three hundred yards, when the first object that met our view was a number of the inhabitants clearing away the ruins of their church, the whole front of which had fallen to the ground, except one of the side towers, that stood drooping over in a very singular manner.

This edifice had been erected by its present venerable vicar at his own private cost, and we may presume with a view to its remaining a permanent memorial of his zeal and munificence, for he employed thirteen years in the work. Notwithstanding all its solidity, however, he has outlived it, and the fabric which at one time he thought would transmit his name to future generations, he has himself seen, in the space of a few minutes, buried in the dust of its own ruins.

From the church we walked through, I might with truth say, walked *over*, the desolated village; for, excepting two or three tottering houses and as many tottering walls, the whole was a confused mass of rubbish. It was a pitiable sight to see the inhabitants stalking round their prostrate dwellings, the characters of terror and dismay strongly depicted in every countenance. And well they might be; for, from the hour in which their woe commenced up to the present, their minds have had no re-

spite from apprehension ;* every day has been attended with several repetitions of the earthquake, more or less severe than the original one, but all sufficient to keep alive feelings of consternation and alarm, which have been considerably increased by the knowledge of the utter destruction of two other villages between six and seven leagues distant, at one of which we are informed the earth has opened in several places, and "water gushes upwards into the air like a fountain."

Having made enquiries of various individuals, and not having heard one contradictory account, I shall here relate the particulars exactly as they were given to me in the village of Trancas, and although they agree in the main with what I have already mentioned, I cannot think that the most trifling particulars connected with so momentous and wonderful a phenomenon can be altogether devoid of interest.

Three or four days prior to the earthquake there was a tremendous storm, the destructive effects of which have been already noticed on approaching Santiago del Estero. In making this observation on the state of the *weather*, it is only because I wish to relate the account as it was related to me, not that I pretend to interfere in the opinion that a connection exists between an earthquake and the elements above, or that the one is influenced by the other. I confess myself incapable of forming any opinion on the subject, and it still, I believe, remains for scientific research to *decide* whether any such connection exists or not. M. Humboldt, in describing the first earthquake that he felt in South America, gives a long and very particular account of the state of the weather and the atmosphere, both before and after the shock.* He also minutely describes it previously to the dreadful earth-

* Voyage au Reg. Equin. vol. iv. chap. x.

quake which destroyed the town of Caracas, on 26th March, 1812, when between nine and ten thousand inhabitants were suddenly buried beneath its ruins, and by which, throughout the province of Venezuela, there perished, almost at the same instant of time, upwards of twenty thousand souls.*

"It is a very ancient opinion," says the same traveller, "that there is a perceptible connection between earthquakes and the state of the atmosphere previously to those phenomena;" but M. Humboldt's *own* opinion is, that the oscillations are generally independent of the state of the atmosphere, although he observes that, "Natural philosophers are inclined to admit a close connection between the undulations of the earth, and any meteor which happens to appear at the same time."†

It seems however to be agreed, that there is an *intimate connection* between earthquakes and volcanoes, and that, in all probability, they are effects of the same cause, namely, subterraneous fiery agents. The volcanoes which are in activity are situated in *islands*, or on coasts *not far from the sea*; those which we find in the *interior countries* of the earth are *all extinct*. These observations lead us to conclude, that the vicinity of the *sea* is a condition essential to the existence of volcanoes; they farther lead us to think, that the water of the sea, penetrating into volcanic cavities, *is a cause of eruptions*. It is a *known fact*, that the presence of water, and in great quantity, is incontestable in volcanic phenomena. We know the astonishing power of this fluid when *reduced to vapour or steam*; but our steam engines can hardly

* Voyage au Reg. Equin. vol. v. chap. x.

† Doctor Arnott, in his "Elements of Physics," &c. mentions that, "on occasion of the great earthquake at Lisbon, the mercury fell so far in the barometers, even in Britain, as not to be visible in that portion at the top usually left uncovered for observation."

convey to us an idea of the power which it is capable of acquiring in caverns, *the sides of which are several thousand yards in thickness*, such as sustain the mountains of Etna and Chimborazo; heat may extend its elasticity to a point of which it is impossible to form any idea.*

This, then, is assigning, in tolerably plain terms, the cause of earthquakes to *steam*; a power, certainly, of the extent of which we can form no idea. "The eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, throwing up incalculable masses of matter into the clouds, induced another scientific gentleman, Mr. Perkins, to imagine that the immense power was generated by *highly elastic steam*."

But, to my own earthquake. A few minutes before the rising of the sun on the 19th of January, the first shock took place, commencing with a noise and a tremulous motion, which lasted a few seconds, causing doors to fly open and sundry articles of furniture to tumble from their places; this was the signal on which the inhabitants rushed from their houses into the open air. A pause of two or three seconds occurred; then the noise re-commenced with a violent rocking motion, which continued about a minute, and in this time the church and several houses were shaken to the ground. After the lapse of half an hour, another shock destroyed the greater part of the remaining houses; and during the whole of that day, until ten o'clock at night, several succeeding shocks completed the demolition of the village. That the motion was of a rocking nature is evident from the manner in which houses and walls were thrown, some having fallen to one side, and some to the other; that is, some outwards and some inwards.

During the day, the altars and images that could be got at were taken from the ruins of the church and erected

* D'Aubuisson.

in the street, where processions took place, where vows and supplications were offered up, and the images of those saints which had not been able to protect themselves were now invoked for the protection of the inhabitants in this awful calamity.

The night passed away quietly, but on the following morning deep murmuring sounds, like distant thunder, were repeatedly heard and were followed by several shocks; these continued at intervals for fifteen days and nights successively: they then gradually decreased both in number and violence, and for the last day or two they have been scarcely perceptible.

12th. I have now to describe, not that of which I have been informed by others, but that which I have myself actually seen, felt, and heard.

Upon our arrival in this village, it was to us a matter of no great concern that there was not a house in a state to receive us; we were accustomed to, and preferred, the open air to the best mansion in South America. In the evening, however, the sky became overcast and heavy rain followed, which compelled us to take refuge in a house in so shattered a state as to have been abandoned by its owners. Here, after examining the fissures in the leaning walls and the state of the loosened beams, and having conversed upon the imprudence of risking the lives of the first embassy of the Potosi, La Paz, and Peruvian Mining Association, we at length decided upon spreading our beds, as no better asylum could be obtained.

The death-like silence which usually followed the laying our heads on our pillows was this night suspended for a considerable time, in consequence of various observations which our recumbent position enabled us to make on the beams and rafters above, each of which, like the sword of the tyrant, seemed ready at a touch to fall upon the wretch beneath. Some general remarks, too, upon

the earthquake, of which we had just seen the disastrous effects, occupied the greater part of an hour before sleep took possession of our senses.

The sombre, silent hour of midnight, when it may be said "creation sleeps," has a solemnity in its repose, which, when suddenly disturbed by any alarming occurrence, operates upon the imagination in a manner very different from a similar occurrence in mid-day. Danger, although distant, is supposed to be at hand, or if really near, it is considerably magnified in the darkness of the night, when fear and confusion know no bounds.

This remark is not foreign to my subject. It was a few minutes before midnight, when all was calm without and silent within, that a most extraordinary hollow rumbling sound disturbed us all, and immediately we felt ourselves shaken by a strong tremulous motion, which, with the noise, may be likened to that of a wooden bridge when a heavy vehicle moves quickly over it. This lasted between fifteen and twenty seconds, increasing in loudness as it approached, then rushed beneath us with a sound truly terrific, resembling, in some degree, a sudden gust of wind through a forest; and was accompanied with a motion of the earth so violent as to make the tiles on the roof of our house rattle as if in a storm. This great concluding shock lasted but a few seconds: time fully sufficient for all of us to spring from our beds and fly through door or through window, without other thought than that of saving ourselves from being buried beneath the tottering walls that seemed to threaten instant destruction.

Our alarm, which carried us far beyond the precincts of danger in our flight from the house, happened to be unattended with any important consequences; for, although the shock was the most violent that had occurred since the original grand one, yet the state of the village

was such as scarcely to admit of any farther damage: but, had it occasioned mischief in the extreme, fear could not have been increased or have occasioned more tumult than occurred. As soon as we got out of the house, we heard voices in every tone and in every direction, calling out—“*Temblo! Temblo! Temblo!*” for the people, who had had such recent experience in earthquakes, left their beds on the first warning sound, and fled in every direction, without knowing to what purpose.

When the general consternation had in some degree subsided, it was curious to see and to hear what was passing. Some were upon their knees in the attitude of ardent supplication, praying aloud for mercy; others were to be seen running—fathers and mothers with their children in their arms—until loss of breath compelled them to stop, or reason whispered that danger had passed. One of my companions made as dexterous a leap through a window as ever was performed by Harlequin, and had the good fortune to land on a heap of mud, into which he plunged, and there lay softly imbedded until relief arrived. The nearly complete state of nudity of most persons, and the complete state of others, men, women, and children, who were now to be seen stalking through the street, or in the adjoining fields, formed a scene, which, on any other occasion, would have been truly ridiculous; but, setting apart the solemnity of the event, the rain which poured was of itself a *damper* to all pleasantries.

After my share of drenching and alarm, I wrapped myself in my cloak and poncho, and took shelter under the projecting eaves of a house, against the wall of which I dosed till daylight, for none of us had courage to return to our beds in the crazy habitation which we had just left.

The difficulty of procuring the number of horses we required compelled us to remain this day in Trancas, which I did not regret; for I felt that I could never hear enough of the earthquakes and their effects. Smoking being the grand medium for gossip, I went with a pocket full of cigars to visit different families; each cigar purchased for me a very interesting account, and the different manner in which each person told his own story added novelty to the recital.

After dinner, we passed an hour or two endeavouring to catch humming-birds, of which there were great numbers, fluttering like butterflies round the shrubs and bushes in the neighbourhood of the village; but, as our wish was to take one alive, none of us having the heart to kill them, our attempts were fruitless.

CHAPTER XI.

An infant friar—Appearance given to the atmosphere by locusts
—Hot Springs of Rosario—Reception at the house of a private gentleman—Ceremonious habit of compliment derived from the Spaniards—Loss of property by the revolution.

February 13th. The villagers, who had been prevailed on to direct their thoughts from the domestic calamities that surrounded them, clubbed together about twenty-five horses, which enabled us to leave Trancas at an early hour on this day. Five or six miles from the village we forded the rapid river Tala, where it is requisite to fill the water-bottles, as no water can conveniently be obtained for several leagues onwards.

This day's journey, which was twelve leagues, exhibited, I think, finer scenery than any other since we left Buenos Ayres. Wooded hills, fertile plains, high

mountains, deep glens, and thick forests, showed themselves alternately in their gayest and grandest features, enlivened by herds of cattle and troops of fine wild mules: the latter were occasionally to be seen in full speed across the plain, others drawn up in close column, boldly fronting us, with crests erect, ears pointed, and snorting as if challenging our party, until the shouts of our peones would put them to the rout. Ostriches were also, sometimes, to be seen amongst partridges, pheasants, snipes, wild ducks, parrots, and many strange birds, all of which contributed to the enjoyment of our journey, as we drove over hill and dale at a gallop. The only embellishment that seemed requisite to complete the landscape, was the industry of man, and man himself: his presence is materially wanted in this country to give full effect to the charms which Nature has lavished with so bountiful a hand, often to no other apparent end than to form a splendid view for the momentary gratification of a few casual travellers like ourselves, who at the same time cannot but regret that all this ground-work of intrinsic wealth should remain unenjoyed and almost unknown.

About ten leagues from Trancas, where we stopped to change horses, we found the few houses that lately composed the hamlet, in ruins, from the effect of the earthquake. A woman of the place was busily employed in making a Franciscan friar's dress for her son, two years old; he had been unwell, and during his illness, the mother vowed to Saint Francis, that if he would have the goodness to restore her son to health, she would make him a friar of his order. Saint Francis obligingly interfered, and the child of course recovered. He has now his head shaved in the shape of the tonsure, and is only waiting for his frock, cowl, and sandals, to fulfil his mother's vow. In Spain and Portugal, I have seen children

of all ages dressed as nuns, monks, or friars, in consequence of vows of this kind. Their appearance to strangers is truly ridiculous, but I doubt if even their patron saints could view a number of nuns and friars, from five to ten years of age, playing at leap-frog or other gambols, without being very much amused.

We took up our abode for the night at the house of a private gentleman with whom General Paroissien was acquainted. It was situated at the skirt of a forest through which we had passed, and although a very respectable habitation for *this* country, it conveyed no idea to an European of the owner's being a wealthy man and sole proprietor of the land for many leagues round.

14th. A delightful morning: we rose with the sun, and continued our journey to the village of Rosario. Here also were to be seen fallen walls, unroofed houses, and many sad countenances, from the effects of the earthquake.

Having heard of the salubrious qualities of a hot spring in this neighbourhood, we mounted our horses and proceeded to visit it. After riding about two leagues through a thickly wooded country, amused at every step by the appearance of insects, birds, animals, and plants, all new to us, we arrived at the foot of a mountain which was also thickly covered with trees from its base to its summit: this we ascended by a narrow path that wound up its steep side, and occasionally along the edge of a deep glen, which led us to an open space, surrounded by large rocks and high trees, forming a sort of spacious grotto, through which descended, in a considerable stream, the waters that we came to see. As we approached their source, the steam arising from them and a sulphureous smell were sensibly perceived. Several males and females indiscriminately were to be seen bathing in holes which they had dug for the pur-

pose in the bed of the stream. On arriving at this spot, I was at first surprised at finding neither bath, nor house, not hut, nor accommodation of any sort for bathers, who sometimes come from distances of many hundred miles for the benefit of these waters, which have been found extremely efficacious in rheumatic complaints, as also in strains, bruises, and cutaneous diseases. A moment's reflection, however, banished all surprise on the subject, and caused me to place the neglect to the account of the provoking supineness of the inhabitants of this country, and to the utter disregard of improvement that has so long prevailed among them. But this must be added to that voluminous catalogue of injuries and neglects which exists, and must long exist, in South America, to record three centuries of Spanish misrule; for, amongst other grievances under the government of that nation, any attempt on the part of the inhabitants to better their condition was made an excuse for additional taxation and persecution, and often led to final destruction. The fact is notorious, that many improvements were stopped by the Spanish authorities, and their promoters severely punished: the machinery of incipient manufactories has been seized and destroyed; the vines of newly-planted vineyards have been rooted up and burnt, lest their produce should tend to diminish the exports from the mother country, on which enormous duties were levied. Improvement was not only viewed with jealousy, but actually opposed, under the bigoted apprehension that it might lead to an enlargement of ideas, and become an opening of knowledge, through which the people might ultimately discover the wrongs which they endured. Barbarous ignorance and blind superstition were trammels out of which this unfortunate people were not

permitted to emerge, up to the very last hour of Spanish dominion.

The hot spring is situated in the midst of a beautifully romantic country, the soil so fertile as to be capable of producing with common industry, any thing and every thing requisite not only for existence but for the luxurious enjoyment of it; the climate healthy and delightful, and the severities of winter altogether unknown.

The chief towns of Tucuman and Salta, the one south, the other north, are each about forty leagues distant from this spring; the neighbourhood, generally speaking, is tolerably well inhabited, and its proximity to the high road from Buenos Ayres, Cordova, &c. to Peru, makes it convenient for the visits of travellers. These advantages, when sloth and indolence give way to industry and enterprise, cannot pass unnoticed, for it is not likely that a place, where a fountain of health may be said to exist, will continue in neglect. Unfortunately for man, there would be no lack of visitors on the score of infirmity to contribute towards the support of an extensive establishment; thousands would gladly go any distance to a place where they might hope to exchange wealth for health, whilst the attractions which such a place, under proper management, usually presents to curiosity and amusement, would in all probability soon render the baths of Rosario as renowned as the most fashionable in Europe.

After scrambling up a steep rock to the source of a waterfall flowing from a height of about fifteen or twenty feet, we dipped a thermometer into the stream, which was so hot that it caused the mercury to expand suddenly and with so much force as to burst the tube, but the instrument was only graduated to 112 degrees; we were therefore disappointed in ascertaining the temperature, but this circumstance will convey a tolerably

fair idea of the heat of the water. At this spot we found it too hot to bathe in, and for that purpose were obliged to move farther down the stream, which gradually cools as it flows from the head of the spring. We were informed by the natives that, at a short distance up the mountain, there was a well, in which eggs and Indian corn were frequently boiled sufficiently for use. Circumstances prevented us from seeing this well, but from what we did see and feel we readily believe its existence. I must not forget to mention that, within five or six yards of the hot stream, there flowed another nearly parallel to it, perfectly cool and transparent. We saw here a very curious tree named *boracho*, the drunkard, from the circumstance of the trunk's swelling out abruptly into that form which is sometimes called 'pot bellied,' and this is thickly covered with thorns like tigers' claws. We also saw a very beautiful flower, named *tripas de frayle*, friar's tripes, which somewhat resembles the honeysuckle. We returned to the village through as wild though luxuriant a landscape as Nature ever designed, the charms of which were heightened by all the softness and repose of a summer's evening.

15th. We made but a short day's journey, owing to heavy rain, which fell in the night and continued the whole of this day. It so much swelled the river Rosario, that we were detained a considerable time upon its steep banks, clearing and levelling a road for the carriages to pass. We then drove through an immense forest, the noble mountains which continue from Tucuman to Salta, a distance of eighty-seven leagues, occasionally appearing in great magnificence upon our left.

Just as night commenced, we reached the house of a private gentleman, Don José Torres, who was sitting with his wife and seven children under a shed, or a sort

of verandah, in front of his house. We requested permission to remain for the night, which was granted with a readiness and frankness that proved we were heartily welcome, and such as travellers usually meet with throughout the whole of South America.

I shall ask here, *en passant*, without meaning ungratefully to detract from the merits of the case, if this *or house-keeping* proceeds from a true spirit of hospitality, or if it be the consequence of mere custom, which, from the want of public accommodation, every man who owns a house complies with, because, whenever he stirs from home he must avail himself in turn of the house of another?

Proprietors of houses in England, judging from their own cases, may imagine, that keeping "open house" for travellers is attended with very great trouble and expense. According to the customs of England it certainly would be so, but in South America it is neither troublesome nor expensive. Here is no calling for chambermaids to prepare a room, no disturbing the housekeeper from her tea to air a pair of sheets, no demand upon the butler for a bottle of wine, nor upon the cook for any extra exercise of his art, nor upon coachman or grooms to take care of carriages and horses. The traveller alights at the door of a house, which he enters, and accosts those he may chance to see, saying, "God keep ye, gentlemen!" to which a similar reply is given. The traveller then says, "With your permission, señores, I shall stop here for the night." "With the greatest pleasure," is the reply. Here ends, nine times out of ten, the whole of the trouble or interference between the parties. The traveller points to a spot, either inside or outside the house, according to the state of the weather, where he wishes his *muchacho* (servant) to spread his saddle-cloths; these being three

or four fold, are sufficiently large to lie upon, and, with his saddle under his head and poncho or cloak over him, complete the bed.

Some few, who like their luxuries, carry a small mattress and sometimes even a portable bedstead, but nothing of the kind is given or expected either at a public or private house, for the very best reason—because they have nothing of the kind to give. The traveller also carries with him his *alforjas*, a species of haversack with provisions; but if he happens to arrive at the family meal-time, he is invited to partake, which invitation is usually declined, because it is *usually* complimentary and nothing more.

In South America, as in Spain, ceremonious compliments are too frequently indulged in; offers and promises of *every thing*, without meaning or intending *any thing*, are of daily occurrence; but this *general rule* has of course its exceptions, for it would be strange to say, that there are not as truly generous minds in South America and in Spain as any other part of the world; yet even the very best are addicted to empty compliments altogether unknown among Englishmen. Should you, for instance, chance to admire a valuable necklace, a watch, a ring, or a handsome horse, the owner, although unacquainted with you, immediately makes an obeisance, and says, "It is at your service," but never expects you to accept the proffered gift.

Promises are made most liberally by the South Americans, but the performance of them is not so common. Ask, or casually express a wish, for any thing that may be distant or difficult to be obtained, and some person present will be sure to say, "*Puede haver*," "It may be had;" or, "*Si, porque non?*" "Yes,—why not?" or, "*Veremos*," "We shall see;" or, "*Pierde V. cuidado*," "You may rely upon it;" although, at the same time,

there is neither any intention nor perhaps any possibility of fulfilling the promise. A candid denial or refusal is considered a breach of civility, and they cannot find in their hearts to deprive you of the momentary hope which their compliment may perhaps hold out.

Qualities such as these, which the French call *aimabilité de mœurs*, may turn to good account in the progress of education and improvement of society; for it must be admitted, that a general *wish to please* is a sure indication of a benevolent mind, and what more genial soil than benevolence for the cultivation of every good principle?

Within very little more than half an hour after our arrival at the house of Don José Torres, our peones had killed, roasted, and devoured three full-grown goats. Our own supper consisted of a kid, two fowls, good bread, and bad cheese, served up in large silver dishes, with forks, spoons, drinking-cups, and candlesticks of the same metal, all of the rudest workmanship, but extremely massive. Indeed, their weight was what led me to discover their value, for their dingy colour at first caused them to pass for tarnished pewter.

Don José is a gentleman of large landed property, and of the first respectability in the province, but has nothing in his dress or appearance indicative of it, still less in his habitation and family. His wife had neat shoes and white stockings on pretty feet, and was fair and cleanly in her person; but as for any other distinguishing quality about her, there was none. Dirty, half naked children, and dirtier slaves, male and female, were all of one party: there was nothing by which a stranger, unaccustomed to the manners of the country, could distinguish rank, or birth, or education.

General Paroissien, who becomes passionately fond

of other people's children, after covering a boy of four years old with kisses, and sharing with it alternately a mouthful from his spoon or his fork, called for some water to wash, which was handed to him by a negress in a deep silver basin, and with this he washed the child's face, and certainly improved it very much, even in the opinion of the mother ; who said, that " for some days past the weather had been too cold and damp for using water with any degree of comfort, and that, for her part, she never had courage to wash herself on a cold day." This is neither tale nor exaggeration, but the plain translation of her speech, which may be considered as conveying the sentiments of a very great part of the population of South America, so far as I have observed. A morning visit to a family is generally very repugnant to the feelings of an Englishman, for he seldom sees that neatness and delicacy to which he has been accustomed at home, and a want of which would there be deemed more than unpardonable. There are, however, many exceptions to be made in this particular, in the society of Buenos Ayres, Cordova, &c. ; and in the full-dress of evening, the South American ladies equal those of any other country in the neat and tasteful embellishment of their persons.

Don José Torres at one period possessed upwards of three thousand head of horned cattle, out of which *only eight cows* now remain ; of all the rest he was despoiled in the course of the late revolutionary wars. Those who grumble to pay war taxes and consider them a hardship, would do well to reflect upon the greater hardships that are averted by paying to keep the field of battle out of one's own country ; for wherever the seat of war is, the armies of friend and foe occasion nearly equal desolation.

CHAPTER XII.

Hospitality to strangers—Tigers—Rio de las Piedras—Difficulties of the roads—Armadillos—Rapidity of the river Passage—Doubts entertained on the extraordinary relations of travellers—Romantic situation of the village of Cobos—Adventure on horse-back—Arrival at Salta.

February 16th. On taking leave of Don José, we had great difficulty to prevail upon him to accept payment for the three goats which regaled our peones, and he would not hear of any thing of the kind for ourselves; a sufficient proof that generosity and hospitality are here to be met with by the stranger without expectation of reward.

We took away with us the head of a monstrous tiger, which had been killed upon an excursion into the woods a few days before our arrival; its size was the astonishment of all the neighbours. Tigers abound in the forests hereabouts, and commit great depredations among cattle. M. Humboldt says that Buffon entirely mistook the jaguar, or tiger of South America, which is a much more formidable animal than is generally supposed, merely from the circumstance of its attacking *men* less frequently than in India; which may, perhaps, be accounted for by its having a greater abundance of *cattle* to prey upon in South America. In his voyage up the great river Apure, M. Humboldt mentions having met with one larger than any East Indian tiger he had ever seen in the menageries of Europe.

This day we proceeded only two or three miles, to the house of Don Antonio Seranas, brother-in-law to Don José, with whom we contracted for fresh horses to take us on to Salta, forty leagues distant. We agreed for

sixteen horses, five for our galera, five for each of our carts, and one for the capataz, at the rate of two rials each per league. Peones were despatched to a distant *potrero*, a spacious inclosure where horses are kept, but principally used for brood mares and *young horses*, as the word implies. In the evening they returned, driving at a full gallop before them between sixty and seventy horses, almost all of which were white or grey. The required number were immediately caught with the lasso and yoked, the others driven on to take their turn at fit stages.

In the evening we left Conchas, which is the name of this place, and travelled five leagues over an infamous road, but amidst most magnificent scenery, to the river *de las Piedras*, a very appropriate name, as it flows over a bottom covered with large loose stones, that are rolled with such violence in the season of the torrents as to prevent the passage. After crossing this river, we took up our abode for the night at two or three houses on its banks. In one of them, which was not in any respect superior to a common Irish cabin, and which, with all its furniture, I should have thought a dear purchase for twenty dollars, I was interestingly surprised at discovering a utensil of a very humble description, but of noble capacity, made of pure silver. I had frequently heard that in the principal houses of South America these articles of common use were all made of the virgin metal, but this was the first I had seen; and I must confess that I viewed it as a curiosity in a mansion of such apparent poverty, and where the meanness of the surrounding furniture so ill accorded with the intrinsic worth and dignity of this useful vase.

17th. Showers of rain and thick mists have latterly prevented our enjoyment of mountain scenery of the grandest kind. Those boundless plains, over which the

eye could range without a single tree, or bush, or mount, to arrest the view, we have long since left far behind, and with them good and easy roads. We are now frequently compelled to work, all hands, with picks, and spades, and shovels, to render particular spots passable for the carriages. At other times, eight and ten horses are yoked to drag one of them up a bank, and sometimes more to draw them through a river or mountain stream, which the rains are now every where swelling.

Armadillos are found in plenty in these parts; when roasted in their coats of mail they are considered a delicacy: two which we took were thus served up under a fig-tree, where we stopped for an hour to breakfast; their appearance was by no means *amiable*, and I felt no disposition to try the strength of my stomach for the purpose of gratifying the curiosity of my palate.

In the evening we halted on the banks of the rapid river Passage, intending to cross it, but our baggage carts, having been overturned several times, had not come up, which compelled us to bivouac for the night under a high mount upon the edge of the river. Each chose his berth, and just as I had laid myself down in my poncho, under an acacia, I was startled from my position by a large snake twisting its way into the leaves and grass that grew round the spot which I had selected. The instant it discovered me, it darted away as fast as I did myself, and glided into a hole at the foot of a neighbouring tree. I afterwards sought an asylum in the *noké*, a bullock's hide suspended under the galera, forming a sort of boot or bag for carrying various articles, and in this I slept undisturbed till daylight.

18th. Our baggage carts having joined us in the course of the night, we proceeded at an early hour to cross the Passage, which we had the good fortune to

find in a favourable state. This is the most rapid and most dangerous river in the road from Buenos Ayres to Peru, and has swept away many travellers, with their horses, carriages, and mules, who have not had patience to remain upon its barren banks until the mountain torrents, which rush into it from all parts, had subsided; a patience which, in the rainy season, (the present period,) it is frequently necessary to exercise for many days, and sometimes for many weeks. Although we found it comparatively tranquil, we were obliged to cross the current in an oblique direction, for its force was sufficient to carry away any thing that opposed it broadside-on. Carlo, for instance, was hurried away at the rate of at least five miles an hour, far out of our sight, before he reached the opposite bank. From this river it is necessary to take a supply of water, as not a drop is to be had for the next seven leagues: the sandy soil absorbs the rain, and neither lake nor river exists upon the way.

We breakfasted at a hut, where we obtained, with plenty of all that we desired, some very fine fresh figs; we then continued our journey through a *tolerably* woody country, but over an *intolerably* bad road, which kept us in the constant exercise of pioneers.

Towards evening we saw at a distance before us a very unusual appearance over the face of the country; instead of the green colour of the grass and of the foliage of the trees, to which we had been accustomed in all its shades and tints, we observed one unvaried mass of reddish brown, which some of us imagined to be heath that the sun was shining upon; but all surmises were far from the truth. As we advanced, we found the country in possession of a host which the united

armies of the world would have no power to overcome—a host, such as in Egypt's evil day

“—— o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like night, and darken'd all the land of Nile.”

It is requisite to *see* in order to *believe* the multitudes in which locusts swarm. These literally covered the earth, the shrubs, and the trees, as far as we could see around us; the branches bent under their numbers, as may be seen in heavy falls of snow, or when trees are overladen with fruit. At the time we arrived within their out-posts, for like ants and bees they have peculiar laws and regulations, and like them, seem to

“Expatriate and confer on state affairs,”

we were looking out for a convenient place to bivouac for the night, there being no village or habitation within many leagues; but to stop in the midst of this moving world, without being molested, was impossible: not that any actual injury was to be apprehended, for they neither sting nor bite. If it were their nature to attack, as flies and gnats do, our whole party, with all our horses, would not have afforded even a *taste* to the smallest division of their army; and it was rather a pleasing consolation to reflect, whilst they skipped in millions round us, and darted against us, as we drove through them and over them, that their habits and customs did not induce them to make personal war against man, although they devour every fruit and vegetable, with the exception of the melon, which, I have been informed, they seldom touch.

We passed through the centre of the space they occupied, which, at a regular rate of travelling, took us a full hour to traverse; we then arrived in the district

which they had first visited, where every shrub was destroyed, every tree leafless, and their branches completely barked. The scene was one of wintry desolation, forming a curious contrast with the season and with the verdure of the adjoining country, and impossible even for a passing traveller to look upon without sensations of painful amazement. It was night before we were perfectly clear of these destructive creatures, which we supposed to be the same that we had seen in their flight on the 13th instant, as they steered in this direction. Those which we caught measured from two and a half to three inches in length; some, I am told, are to be met with four inches long. In their hind legs they have great strength, and can push themselves out of your grasp if not held with some degree of force. Their colour is generally of a reddish brown; but there are different varieties, and some very beautiful.

When the relations of travellers happen to be given on any extraordinary subject, they are usually received with a degree of *doubt* that has become proverbial, more particularly by those persons who have themselves never travelled. They cannot patiently admit what happens greatly to surpass their limited experience, and although we have daily instances of the corroboration and establishment of facts, that, when first mentioned, have been deemed impossible, still, the incredulity is revived on the next extraordinary relation given by any future traveller. To many persons, my account of locusts—their numbers obscuring the sun, their covering the face of the earth for miles in extent, and their ravages over a whole country, may perhaps appear one of those exaggerations moderately termed “a traveller’s license;” and yet, how far short does my account fall in every respect of that given on the same subject in the

truly interesting work of a distinguished modern traveller in another quarter of the globe.—“Of the innumerable multitudes of the incomplete insect, or larvæ, of the locusts that at this time infested this part of Africa, no adequate idea could possibly be conceived without having witnessed them. For the space of ten miles on each side of the Sea-cow river, and eighty or ninety miles in length, an area of *sixteen* or *eighteen hundred square miles*, the whole surface might literally be said to be covered with them. The water of the river was scarcely visible on account of the dead carcasses that floated on the surface, drowned in the attempt to come at the reeds which grew in the water. They had devoured every green herb and every blade of grass.

“Their last exit from the colony was singular. All the full grown insects were driven into the sea by a tempestuous north-west wind, and were afterwards cast upon the beach, where it is said they formed a bank of three or four feet high, that extended from the mouth of the Bosjesmans’ river to that of the Beeka, a distance of near fifty English miles. The larvæ, at the same time, were emigrating to the northward; the column passed the houses of two of our party, who asserted, that it continued without any interruption for *more than a month*.”*

When it became quite dark, we stopped in the middle of the road, and spread our beds round the galera; but we were roused in the course of the night from this lodging *à la belle étoile*, by a smart shower of rain, which started us all up *en chemise*, and compelled us to roll up our beds, and for the first time since we left Buenos Ayres to pitch our tent, under which we lay till daybreak, when we pursued our journey.

* Barrow’s Travels in Southern Africa, vol. i. chap. iv

19th. We this day met General Alvear and his suite returning from Peru, where he had been on a mission to Bolivar from the government of Buenos Ayres; this being only the fourth time we had met with travellers in a distance exceeding twelve hundred miles; a strong proof of the scantiness of population and of the solitude which reigns throughout this vast continent.

About noon we arrived at the village of Cobos, where we remained for the day. If art and industry were employed to improve all that nature has performed for this place, it might be made a delightful abode for the lover of rural beauties. Richly wooded hills, majestic mountains, fertile plains, and limpid streams, display their charms throughout an almost eternal summer, to the indolent inhabitants of a few unseemly huts, within thirty miles of the capital of the province.

It is impossible to witness, with any degree of patience, the indifference that has been shown throughout this country for the inestimable gifts with which Nature has so bountifully blessed it. The mind contemplates this apathy with a feeling even of pious indignation at so manifest a rejection of the favours of a beneficent Providence. But here again we must, I suppose, recur to the old, "oft-repeated tale:" to the misrule of the late possessors of the country, whose government was all mystery, intolerance, and severity, impeding the development of knowledge and with it the exercise of every liberal and useful art. The rising generation most sensibly feel the neglect with which their country has been hitherto treated; they know that nature has endowed their soil with resources infinitely more conducive to happiness and greatness than all their mines of gold and silver. Of these resources, however, they have not in the present day the means of availing themselves, but they willingly offer them to the skill, capital,

and industry of foreigners, who would be sure of a cordial reception among them, and who would find no obstacle to their settling in the terms that would be required for possession.

20th. At daylight we were already on the road to Salta, nine leagues distant from Cobos. After performing seven of these over a wretched road, up hill and down hill, through a luxuriant country, we arrived at Lagunillas, a respectable farm-house, where we breakfasted, and had about two hours excellent duck and snipe shooting. With my last shot I accidentally killed a small bird called a dominican, which, with the exception of its black bill, and black edges to the pinions, is of a snow-white plumage. It seems to be as decided a lover of solitude as the robin, but much more apprehensive of man; for although we saw this bird frequently in the course of our journey from Buenos Ayres, and made many attempts to kill one, we could never before approach within shot: it is always alone; we never saw it in company with any other bird, not even with one of its own species.

Before I leave Lagunillas, I shall mention a circumstance that rather surprised us all. When we were setting out from the farm-house to a distant lake to shoot, the son of the farmer happened to be at the door on a good stout horse, whose broad back induced me to ask the rider for a seat behind him to the lake; which was readily granted, with the observation that the horse was *muy soberbio*, (very proud.) However, my weight not being exorbitant, and having no intention of offending the animal's pride, I handed up my gun, and then mounted behind the saddle, with a degree of agility too that rather pleased me, because my companions were looking on, and, as I thought, with some share of envy, for the sun was very powerful, and the lake at some dis

tance. We moved on six yards, awkwardly enough, the horse, by the motion of his tail and unsettled gait, exhibiting strong symptoms of displeasure. "He is quiet, I hope?" said I, in a tone not very expressive of confidence. "*Es muy soberbio*," said my friend. Up and down went the horse. "Gently! gently!" said I. "*No puedo*," "I cannot," said my friend. Higher and lower went the horse. "Stop! stop!" said I. "*No puedo*," said my friend. "I shall be off!" said I. "*Senor mio!* for Heaven's sake don't squeeze me so tight round the waist!" said my friend. "I shall be off, I shall certainly be off!" said I, in a tone louder than was requisite for hearing. "Don't squeeze me so tight, *senor mio!*" said my friend. "Hold on! hold on!" cried my companions. "*Es muy soberbio?*" said my friend. "Yes, very proud, indeed!" said I, and at the same instant a violent plunge and kick aiding my exertions, I sprang out of my seat with twice the agility, though not with half the pleasure, with which I sprang into it.

Scenes of this kind, it is well known, afford much more entertainment to the spectators than to the performers; I shall therefore say nothing upon that part of the subject, but come to the point which has been my only object in mentioning this circumstance, namely, the age of the horse. "Pray," said General Paroissien, "how old is that proud-spirited beast of yours?" "I have always understood," replied the young man, "that he is the age of my father." "And more than that," said one of the bystanders. "My father is past forty," said the young man, who had himself been riding the animal for seventeen years. We were all astonished, for the horse was in appearance, to use an appropriate phrase, "as fresh as a four year old." Hot stables, heavy clothing, excessive feeding, and violent physicking, are the causes, no doubt, why we so seldom hear of this age

in England, where a horse at little more than nine or ten years old is considered as having "done his work," and generally speaking is no longer in esteem.

We set out from Lagunillas in the afternoon, and at six o'clock descended into an extensive plain, where, after being obliged to make a circuit to avoid the marshes abounding in it, we entered the city of Salta, and took up our residence in a very decent house which had been previously engaged, with scanty furniture it is true, at the moderate rent of four dollars a week.

CHAPTER XIII.

Want of public accommodation—Expenses of our journey from Buenos Ayres to Salta—Decree in favour of emigration—Fever and ague—Expense of living at Salta.

In order to adhere to my former scale, I shall now compare the city of Salta with the town of Dundalk; although I must confess that, for the Grecian fronted jail of the latter I can find no parallel in the city of Salta; the mud-built cathedral, with three bells on the top of it, has the advantage in point of bulk, but that is all. The houses here, however, are more spacious, and present a more cheerful appearance than those of the capital town of Louth, even including the mansion of the noble family of Roden.

Salta is the great resting-place for all travellers whether going to or from Peru. In the former case, they must stop to dispose of their carriage (if that has been the mode of conveyance) and to provide themselves with mules, for the road northward is no longer a carriage-way. If they cannot obtain an immediate

sale, they leave it in charge of an agent to dispose of, and there is seldom much loss to be apprehended, for travellers from Peru going to the southward, who, on the other hand, stop to dispose of their mules, are always glad to find the accommodation of a carriage, and in many instances club together for the purchase. But very considerable loss must occur in the sale of animals, because all kinds are very dear in Peru, and very cheap throughout Salta and the lower provinces; although their present prices here, generally from fourteen to twenty dollars, are, I am informed, nearly doubled since the revolutionary wars, which occasioned unsparing havoc amongst every species of cattle.

A European might reasonably suppose that this passing and repassing of travellers, though not so brisk as between Dover and London, would nevertheless have occasioned the establishment of an inn, or caravansary, or some such public convenience. There is, however, nothing of the kind, except the cheerless hut-like *tambos*, which in the days of the Incas were kept in repair and well provided, but now merely protect from the rays of the sun during excessive heat, and it is well if they can do so much against the rain in its season.

The earthquake of the 19th of January was strongly felt in Salta. Those who were at early mass were amazed at seeing the candlesticks and images suddenly fall from the altar, and, thinking the devil was coming, the whole congregation fled in confusion from their devotions, with a speed that would have made it difficult for the fiend to "catch the hindmost."

On arriving here, we completed, according to the posts, four hundred and fourteen leagues of our journey, which, I am convinced, would measure thirteen hundred English miles; a long distance to travel without comfort or convenience. We have, however, accomplished

it without accident of any kind, either personal or otherwise; and as I have elsewhere remarked, the interest we have taken in all we saw has precluded even a thought on the fatigues and privations which we have undergone.

In order to gratify the curiosity of any one who may wish to know the expenses of such a journey, I insert them here. Our party consisted of five persons, with two servants, whose living is included in the account, as well as that of our nine peones, who, besides their diet, received wages, which varied according to the horse they rode—the man on the near side, next the wheels, having the highest wages, as being the conductor, whose directions the other postilions obey, and those at the pole end receiving the lowest wages, are supposed to have the least difficult office to perform.

Total expenses from Buenos Ayres to Salta,	}	\$2098
414 leagues		

which, at four shillings per dollar, makes the sum of four hundred and nineteen pounds twelve shillings. At Salta, our living cost, on an average, three shillings per head daily. Bread and milk were very good; meat indifferent; wine, which came from a distant part of the country, bad; vegetables and fruit abundant, but nothing to boast of.

The law may be considered sufficiently liberal for the government of a republic just starting into life, and it may be the means of inviting foreigners into the province of Salta; but in this part of the country mines and mining are decidedly the least profitable speculation. Agriculture, or manufactures, are the objects to which the attention of emigrants to this country should be chiefly directed. Mining requires a larger capital, is much more precarious, more laborious, and more expensive, than the pursuit of agriculture, which, in this

favoured soil, holds out to industry the moral certainty of reward.

With respect to manufactures, I need not particularise any as being likely to succeed where none have ever yet been tried ; but in this, as in every other department of business, the field for speculation is boundless and inviting. The reason why no advantage has hitherto been taken of it is obvious ; it proceeds from the same cause which has prevented the progress of colonisation here from being attended with the same benefits as it usually has been in other less favoured portions of the globe. This reason has already been explained in language as forcible as it is true, and there needs no apology for its repetition. "When Spain, in her inconsiderate rapacity, had seized on countries larger than all Europe, her inability to fill such vast regions with a number of inhabitants sufficient for the cultivation of them was so obvious, as to give a *wrong direction* to all the efforts of the colonists. They did not form compact settlements, where industry, circumscribed within proper limits, both in its views and operations, is conducted with that sober, persevering spirit, which gradually converts whatever is in its possession to a proper use, and derives thence the greatest advantage. Instead of this, the Spaniards, seduced by the boundless prospect which opened to them, divided their possessions in America into governments of great extent. As their number was too small to attempt the regular culture of the immense provinces which they occupied rather than peopled, they bent their attention to a few objects that allured them with hopes of sudden and exorbitant gain, and turned away with contempt from the humbler paths of industry, which lead more slowly, but with greater certainty, to wealth and increase of national strength."*

* Robertson's Hist. America.

I have heard it disputed whether this province or that of Tucuman is the more fertile or the more favoured by nature: to say that Salta exceeds Tucuman in fertility would be asserting too much. Doctor Redhead, an English gentleman, who has been many years in South America, and has latterly resided in Salta, gives the preference to this province in point of climate; he says that it is not subject to the excessive heats which are so oppressive in Tucuman during the summer.

The city of Salta, however, from its exceedingly ill-chosen position, being in the midst of fens and swamps, is at this season of the year sometimes liable to intermitting fevers and agues, called here *chuchó*, under which my companions are now suffering. Servants and all, with the single exception of myself, are confined to their beds, some of them extremely ill and with high fever.

Our chief commissioner in his letter of the 22d February, from which I have given extracts, has mentioned that, "so destitute is the country here that I have been obliged to buy live oxen and prepare the jerked beef to support us over the mountains." I have never been able to comprehend this sentence, nor that which follows, in which he states that "every thing is enormously high." Let us suppose, five foreigners arrived in Dundalk upon a *jaunting-car*, with a numerous suite, requiring immediately a large quantity of hams for a journey over the Fewes mountains, and not able to procure them, though they find no difficulty in obtaining pigs; would this be a proof of "destitution?" or would they be justified in saying—"so *destitute* is the country here, that we have been obliged to buy live hogs and prepare the hams to support us over the mountains?" With respect to "every thing being *enormously* high," in the estimation of Englishmen, at least, our expenses at Salta cannot be considered as a proof. I have remarked, that house-hire

was sixteen shillings a week, which our chief commissioner has said is *double* what he formerly paid, and our living did not exceed daily the sum of fifteen shillings, which was amply sufficient to supply our meals of breakfast and dinner, not indeed with luxuries, but with what perfectly satisfied ourselves, five servants, and frequently a friend or two at dinner.

CHAPTER XIV.

Departure from Salta—Passage of streams and torrents—Arrival at Jujui—Wonderful scenery—Poison of vipers occasionally harmless—Sagacity of mules and horses in passing dangerous places—Desolate post house—Arrival at Tupiza.

February 28th. This day we received letters from our secretary in London, dated October and November ultimo, by which we were informed that stores of every kind, and thirty-eight persons belonging to our establishment, had been embarked on board a ship called the Potosi, which was to sail without delay for the port of Arica in Lower Peru. The secretary mentioned that the outfit of the association would amount to forty thousand pounds sterling, a sum of money sufficient, if judiciously managed, for all the purposes of mining in South America upon the grandest scale; but such an establishment as ours is unnecessarily large; indeed, all our mining associations appear to have commenced by a similar imprudence, in assembling a company of officers and servants, artificers and workmen, at an enormous expense, before either the nature or the extent of the work was in any degree ascertained.

The port of Arica not belonging to the republic under which we were about to establish ourselves, it became

important, before the arrival of our ship, to ascertain to what duties our immense cargo might be subject in that port, and then to endeavour to obtain its free admission into the territory of the republic of Bolivia, the name which Upper Peru, comprising Potosi, has lately assumed, in compliment to its liberator Bolivar.

Machinery for working mines, quicksilver, and iron, had already been declared free of duty; but a very great part of the lading of our ship being composed of other articles of necessity and convenience, supplied under the idea of at least three years' residence in the country, it became an object to save the excessive duties to which they were liable. If our speculation should prove successful, the republic of Bolivia might expect to reap very considerable advantages, for, mining being its chief branch of revenue, and employing a great many hands, its operations are of national importance, and claim the favour and protection of the state. These considerations induced our chief commissioner to give me instructions to leave Salta for the purpose of negotiating the business with the Bolivian government, and my services being at his command, I obtained a passport, and prepared for a ride of about five hundred English miles by post to Potosi.

March 5th. Heavy rains and sundry little circumstances prevented my departure until this day, when I left Salta at four o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by José, a peone whom I hired for the journey, and a postilion leading a mule with my baggage, consisting of a portmanteau on one side, balanced by my bed on the other, and between these my *alforjas* (wallet), containing bread and some salt beef. José carried pendant behind his saddle a pair of *chifles*, two bullock's horns filled with the brandy of the country.

The evening was delightful, and the scenery incom-

parably fine ; high hills (mountains they would be called at home) rose on each side, covered to their summits with trees and luxuriant verdure, through which herds and flocks ranged at large. *Quintas* (country houses) were occasionally to be seen romantically situated, requiring only a little industry and skill to make them enviable abodes for those who enjoy the pleasures of a country life, for it seemed as if nature had waved her wand of spontaneous plenty over the whole delicious scene.

Our road lay through a verdant valley, intersected by a river of importance and sundry mountain streams, some of which were deep and very rapid, though no difficulty occurred in passing them. About sunset I was overtaken by a farmer-like looking man, who was returning to his home from Salta, and who, after riding some part of the way with me, said, that if I would stop at his house, he would provide me with better lodging and better horses than I could procure at the post. Being quite satisfied that no accommodation could be inferior to that of the post, I accompanied him to his house, which was a very decent one, though naked with respect to furniture. It was situated in the midst of a large natural meadow, surrounded by peach trees, under which his swine were feeding upon the fruit that dropped from them. After spreading my bed under a shed in front of the house, and regaling myself upon the contents of my *alforjas*, and a taste from my *chifles*, I passed the night among a plague of fleas, and blessed the dawning day that gave me the earliest opportunity to gallop from them.

6th. Fine pleasant weather : the road still lay through a valley, but narrower than that of the preceding day ; the mountains were less wooded, and sometimes not more than a musket-shot distant from each side of me.

We killed a very large viper which crossed our path, and stood boldly on its defence, hissing and darting, as the peon, postilion, and myself, assailed it with stones. After this event, three or four leagues of the way were beguiled by histories of accidents and deaths, occasioned by bites of those venomous animals, several instances of which had occurred amongst the acquaintance of my peon José.

On this day's journey I forded not fewer than twenty different rivers and torrents, some of them furiously rapid, and carrying along with them large round stones, which cause the traveller to hesitate before he exposes himself and his horse to their violence. On these occasions I always gave precedence to the peon and postilion, whose track I carefully followed: custom, however, has rendered this species of travelling familiar to me. I can descend a steep bank into a rapid river, and scramble out with my horse to the opposite side, as composedly as if crossing Waterloo bridge; but it is to be observed, that in such cases, much of one's security depends upon the animal, whom custom also has taught to pick his steps with peculiar caution, and who must be left entirely to his own judgment.

It was nine o'clock at night, and extremely dark, before we arrived at the town of Jujui, having groped our way for the last league amid thickets, over rocks, and through streams, often hesitating whether it would not be prudent to stop for the night under some tree, as the horses fell several times in places where they could not see to make good their footing. My own inclinations were decidedly for a halt, as I felt considerable uneasiness in my saddle seat, after forty miles jog trot from daylight till dark. My peon, however, encouraged me onwards, by assuring me every mile we went, that the town was close at hand; so I followed, and at last did

actually arrive at the house of Don Marcos Senavilla, a respectable merchant, according to the state of commerce in this country, though in England he would rank no higher than a petty shopkeeper.

I had a letter of introduction to Don Marcos, which, at the late hour of the night, and in my absolutely worn out condition, proved of inestimable worth, as it obtained for me all the hospitality which the host was capable of bestowing, or that I expected, and that was merely a corner in a dirty house to lodge in, and a mess of "lob-scouse," or something or other, before I went to bed, for which I felt extremely grateful. In another corner of my apartment, slept the *patrona*, or *duena*, or housekeeper, with two or three children in the same bed, who did not seem to be any more inconvenienced by my presence, than I was by theirs.

7th. This morning I had a trifling misunderstanding with the *patrona* on the subject of making tea, for I had provided myself with that refreshing herb, which I recommend to every one travelling through a country destitute of what in Europe are considered the common necessities of life. From the portion I delivered to the *patrona* to be boiled in an earthen pot, (there being nothing else more convenient) she carefully drained off the water, and served up the leaves upon a plate, when she considered them sufficiently boiled,—a circumstance I recollect having occurred to a traveller at an *auberge*, in the south of France.

The earthquake, of which I have said so much, I have traced to this town, where it was sensibly felt at the same time as with us, and I have ascertained that it extended to a point beyond Jujui, which is a distance exceeding five hundred and sixty miles from the village of Oratorio Grande, where we first felt it. What a wonderful effort of nature to shake so great a portion of

earth at the same moment of time ! And yet this is but a *molehill*, compared with the effects of the great earthquake of Lisbon, on the 1st of November, 1755, which was felt, *nearly at the same instant*, upon the coast of Sweden, on the borders of Lake Ontario, and at the Island of Martinique, a distance which can scarcely be calculated at less than 3,500 English miles, including a vast extent of ocean of unfathomable depth !

I ordered post horses at an early hour, expecting to set out after breakfast, but such is the calm in every kind of business, in this country, including even *post haste*, that five o'clock in the afternoon passed away before the postilion appeared with his animals at the door of my kind friend Don Marcos. This hardship I considered the greater, because from Jujui, as from all other towns of any consequence, travellers are compelled to pay double postage, under the pretext that post masters in towns are liable to extra calls for horses, and the extra charge is to enable them to be in *readiness* to answer them.

The evening was charming, and the scenery round Jujui wildly picturesque. The valley through which my road still lay, soon became deeper and narrower, and the mountains on each side more barren, but grander than heretofore.

Night having overtaken me when four leagues upon my journey, I stopped at a lonely hut, a short distance from the road, to which I had been attracted by "the trembling taper's light," but I cannot add that it "adorned and cheered my way:" still, the mere idea that human beings were at hand, served to break the solitude of a night's lodging *à la belle étoile*, although, for the comfort of accommodation, I might as well have been benighted in the midst of the great desert of Barbary. Two or three cigars to the poor owners of the hut, and a few

bits of biscuit to the naked children, proved that I was amicably disposed, and obtained for me all that I required in return—a free respiration of the pure air of heaven without molestation until daylight.

8th. After a very fatiguing journey of about fifty miles, I arrived at nightfall, at the post hut of Hornillos, where I was so fortunate as to find half a mountain sheep, ready roasted, and which was speedily devoured by myself, José, and the postilion, with that exquisite sauce, which is so proverbially excellent as to require neither puff nor comment to distinguish it.

The valley, this day, was still narrower, and the mountains higher and more barren than before. Perhaps there is not in the world, for the distance of thirty or forty miles, more singular and extraordinary scenery than what I passed through this day. One of the places where I changed horses is called *el Volcan*, and it certainly appeared as if enclosed in an immense volcano, at the bottom of which the road lay, and in its serpentine twists and turns in the valley no opening appeared before or behind: all round was a rampart of rocky mountain of most fantastic form, sometimes awfully impending over our heads, sometimes rising in craggy turrets to the clouds, grand, terrible, and sublime; the whole presenting indubitable attestation of some dreadful convulsion of nature, either of violent volcanic action, or of a resistless flood of waters that had swept over the face of the earth at some remote period, mayhap at the formation of the world, or at the time of the universal deluge. Either or both of these events must have contributed to produce the chaos which here exists. “Yet is it with astonishment we reflect, that a work of such apparent disorder and desolation, should produce objects of the grandest character of beauty, and become sources of the sublimest sentiment to mankind.” So says the author

of the "Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies;" and, in truth, it is impossible to view these astounding productions of nature without entering into the feelings of that learned writer, who, in treating of the history of our globe, with respect to the mode of its *first formation*, and of its *subsequent changes*, "adheres firmly to the fundamental principles of the Mosaical geology, arising altogether and exclusively out of the creative wisdom, the creative power, and the creative fiat of Almighty God."

In the middle of the night I was roused by a noise under my bed, as if of a struggle between two animals, which induced me to examine the premises; when, to my astonishment, I discovered by the light of the moon, a cat eating the head off a viper, which she had just subdued; a common occurrence, I was informed, and without any ill consequences to the cat, however venomous the snake. From this circumstance it is to be presumed that the poison contained in these reptiles is deleterious *only* when introduced by a cut or scratch into the blood; in the same manner as the poison called *curare*, which is used by the South American Indians for the points of their arrows, and which, although certain death if it touch the slightest scratch, may be tasted, and even swallowed without danger. M. Humboldt, in his travels on the Orinoco, mentions that he and M. Bonpland frequently tasted this poison. "Its taste is a very agreeable bitter, and M. Bonpland and myself often swallowed small portions of it. There is no danger whatever if you are quite sure that there is no excoriation of the lips or gums." The Indians consider the *curare*, taken inwardly, as an excellent stomachic.

M. Humboldt has observed that, "in the recent experiments made by M. Mangili on the poison of the viper, one of the persons present swallowed the whole of the

poison that could be extracted from four large Italian vipers without being affected."*

9th. The sun was intolerably hot for several hours of the day, and its effect was increased in the deep valley through which I was still trotting, surrounded by high barren mountains, intercepting even a momentary glimpse of the adjoining country. After a ride of forty miles, I stopped at the village of Humaguaca, which is beginning to recover from the disasters of war, having been entirely destroyed by the Spaniards during the revolution.

A morsel of delicious mountain mutton, roasted in the ashes, and a fowl cooked in the same manner, with some very small, but very good potatoes, were served up by the mistress of the post house in a deep silver dish; neither knife nor fork, however, appeared, and only one wooden spoon. This repast, which was sufficient for a hungry master and man, cost three rials, (one shilling and sixpence,) my *alforjas* supplied bread.

The postmaster of Humaguaca had been a leader of a party of *guerillas* in the revolution, and as such had all his property destroyed by the Spaniards. I found him extremely disposed to accommodate; indeed, it appears to me that the want of accommodation throughout the country proceeds from want of means and ignorance of comfort, not from want of *will* on the part of the inhabitants in giving it.

10th. Before the sun rose to gild the tops of the mountains, I was already two leagues upon my journey, through the same valley as before, which was at times so narrow as not to be forty yards across between the huge adamantine walls that hemmed me in on each side. A distance of twenty-five miles brought me to the post

* Humb. Voy. aux Reg. Equin. vol. viii. chap. 24.

of La Cueva, where I received the first hint of the perilous roads I was about to pass on my journey to Potosi.

When changing animals, I was presented with a mule, which I objected to, on account of having been carried thus far safe and well by horses, over loose stony paths, through rivers, streams, and torrents, all of them rapid, and some deep and dangerous. I therefore requested to have a horse, which, the postmaster replied, was at my service; but he added, that "mules were always preferred in going towards Peru, as being safer and more sure-footed in the narrow paths on the edges of precipices." "Be it as thou wilt, *maestro de posta*," said I; "thou understandest these matters better than a stranger, so e'en saddle the mule."—"I insure you this as being a right good *rational animal*," said the *maestro de posta*, as I mounted and departed.

I had gone about six miles upon a narrow track, over rocks and stones, through a desolate country, when I came to the edge of a precipice, which induced me to pull up, and say to my mule, "Surely thou art not going to take me thither?" "Yes," said the mule. "Come," said I, "let us try that path to the right." "No," said the mule, "positively *no*." And all my persuasion, sometimes angry, sometimes soothing, could not prevail with the animal to go out of the original path. It was willing to stop, or to go forward, but out of the path it would not move for all the mines of the New World. When I attempted to turn it to the right, into what appeared to me a safer road, round whisked the tail, back went the ears, and an angry shake of the head, with what is called "hoisting," proved at once an obstinacy of opinion, and a displeasure at being thwarted in what it felt convinced it was better acquainted with than its rider. In a few minutes, José and the postilion, who had chanced to stop in the rear to arrange the cargo on

the baggage mule, came up, when the latter informed me that my mule was perfectly right, and that I might go to sleep on its back if I felt so disposed, for it was a very rational animal, *un animal muy racional*—precisely the phrase mentioned by other travellers in a similar situation. Of course, I instantly yielded, and on we went. I, however, wished myself more than once safe on board a ship in a gale of wind, before I got to the end of this romantic but alarmingly intricate path, where, if two animals chanced to meet, one must “go to the wall,” the other down into little less than a bottomless pit. Even the apprehension of a false step produces a feverish agony, which so occupies the mind, that it is only occasionally a glance is cast upon the yawning precipice over which the left leg hangs dangling as the animal jogs unconcernedly along.

I have travelled through some intricate passes in Spain, and had the honour to cross the Pyrenees, but the worst of those roads are left far behind when compared with those of this country. If, however, the animal which a person rides is tolerable, and confidence is placed in it, the danger loses all its terror, and is, in fact, but little; for as M. Humboldt observes, “When the mules perceive themselves in danger, they stand still, and turn their heads first to one side and then to the other, and the motion of their ears seems to indicate that they are considering what course they ought to pursue. Their resolution is slow, but always good, if not controlled or accelerated by the imprudence of the rider. It is in frightful roads that the intelligence of horses and mules is developed in a surprising manner. The rider runs no risk, provided he slackens the reins, and takes care not to check in the least the motions of the animal.”

In the forenoon the sun, as on the preceding day, was so scorchingly hot, that I was obliged to muffle my face

to save it from being broiled and blistered, and in the afternoon, being pelted by two heavy showers of hail, I was glad to wrap myself in my poncho. This is also a slight preparation for my residence in Potosi, where, it is said, that in the course of twenty-four hours the climate undergoes all the changes of the four seasons of the year.

At sunset, having ridden about forty-five miles, I stopped at the post of Colorados, the most wretched of those wretched abodes which I had hitherto seen; but as night was drawing on and threatening rain, I was compelled to take shelter under its tattered roof, having little inducement to risk life and limb by continuing my journey through the night over a mountainous desert. Besides, long before my day's journey was finished, I felt that I had performed quite as much as I was capable of, in my then unseasoned condition; for although thirty, forty, or more miles are a very tolerable ride, yet it was not the distance, but the length of time, that rendered it so fatiguing, having frequently been on the road from long before sunrise till sunset. It was a consolation, however, and a very great one, to know that sleep might be indulged in without the apprehension of being molested by reptiles, such as infest the post houses to the southward, rendering them in some places uninhabitable, and precluding even the hope of rest. Except in the sheltered valleys, the huts in this part of the country are generally free from biting and stinging insects; even those familiar tormentors, fleas, are not always to be met with.

I have heard it remarked, "that it is in our own power to convert the blanks in the lottery of life into prizes;" an opinion to which I feel heartily disposed to subscribe, and if it be not in all cases true to the letter, it is because we ourselves, coveting the capital prizes, reject the mo-

derate ones with indifference, and pine over the misfortune of a casual blank.

11th. I have at length emerged from the long valley, that wearisome labyrinth through which I had wound my way for upwards of a hundred and seventy miles; and although glad to escape from it, I cannot say that the landscape was much enlivened, all around being a confusion of barren hills and rugged mountains, without a single human habitation in view, or a living soul to be met with, along the dreary road, from post to post. The wild cries of the *guanacos*, as they scudded in small herds to the tops of the mountains at the approach of man, accorded well with the solitude of the scene. These animals at a distance resemble deer without horns, and indicate to the traveller that he has entered the former territories of the Incas; for, coming from the southward, the *guanacos* are first met with in Peru.

The frequent crossing of rivers and torrents has now ceased; I have ridden two, three, and four leagues without meeting with a drop of water. The sun in the middle of the day is very powerful, and has sometimes scorched me on one side, whilst the other has been chilled by the keenness of the blast from the mountains. At sunset, for the last two or three evenings, there had been much thunder and lightning, which did not at all enliven the solitary gloom, for it was not the "aerial tumult" of loud, spirit-stirring claps, but hollow murmurings, melancholy and mournful, succeeded at intervals by the livid glare of distant flashes.

At the forlorn hut where I stopped for this night, there was nothing—literally nothing—to be had for refreshment, after a ride from the dawn of day till nightfall, upon poor worn-out animals, whose creeping pace must be patiently submitted to in pity of their feebleness, for their means of existence in this desert part of the country

are as scanty as those for travellers; and in recommending the poor creatures to the mercy of any impatient rider, I can assure him, without meaning any pun upon the words of the respected author of the "Night Thoughts," that he will find

"all expedients tire
To lash the lingering moments into speed."

In an unroofed out-house I spread my portable bed, and on it I found comfortable repose for my aching limbs till daylight, at the first dawn of which I rose, well and hearty, to continue my journey.

12th. Heat excessive. I experienced much delay at the posts from want of animals, the poverty of the postmasters, not admitting of their purchasing a sufficient number for the calls that are made on them, nor of feeding the sorry few they possess.

At a considerable distance upon my left front I saw the snow-covered summits of the grand Cordilleras de los Andes, the mountains amongst which and over which I am now travelling being branches of the same chain. I stopped for the night at the ruined village of Mojo, where I was supplied with some good mutton, excellent potatoes, and a roasted guinea-pig, for supper.

13th. The heat continued, but it could do me little farther injury, having already completely broiled the skin off my face, nose, lips, and ears.

In the afternoon, I had to ascend and descend the highest mountain I had ever yet crossed. After winding for more than two hours up its rugged side, and precisely in the most terrifying spot, the baggage-mule, which was in front, suddenly stopped; and well it might—poor little wretch—after scrambling with its burden up such fatiguing flights of craggy steps; the narrowness of the path at this spot did not allow room

to approach the animal to unload and give it rest. On one side was the solid rock, which drooped over our heads in a half-arch; on the other, a frightful abyss, of not less than two hundred perpendicular feet. Patience was indeed requisite here, but the apprehension was, that some traveller or courier might come in the contrary direction, and, as the sun was setting, the consequences could not fail of proving disastrous to either party. At one time, I held a council to deliberate on the prudence of freeing the passage by shooting the mule, and letting it roll, baggage and all, to the bottom. In this I was opposed by the postilion, though José and myself were of opinion, that it was the only method of rescuing ourselves from our critical situation before nightfall. I never felt so perplexed in my life: we were all useless, helpless, and knew not what to do. After upwards of half an hour, (perhaps apprehension may have added a few minutes to this dubious and truly nervous pause) the mule, of its own accord, moved on slowly for about twenty yards, and stopped again; then proceeded, then stopped, and thus, after two hours' farther ascent, we gradually reached the summit. Two or three times I wished, for safety's sake, to alight, but actually I had not room to do so upon the narrow edge of the tremendous precipice on my left.

To view from the top of the mountain the descent which we had now to make was sufficient to try the nerves of any person unaccustomed to such a scene, and whose safety depended solely upon the sure footing of a wearied, hoof-worn beast; for it was in appearance even more difficult than what we had already performed. Before we were half-way down, night overtook us, but in a short time the feeble light of a new moon enabled us to distinguish a white track that conducted us in safety at half-past nine o'clock, into the town of Tupiza, after

having employed five tedious hours in accomplishing the mountainous ascent and descent, in comparison with which the stairs of St. Paul's would have been easy travelling.

Tupiza is a respectable little town, where a traveller can supply himself with every thing he requires; it is also the southern frontier town of the Bolivian republic, where duties are levied upon goods, and where the portmanteaus of travellers are inspected, the latter without rigour or incivility on the part of the officers.

CHAPTER XV.

Pedestrian performances of Peruvian Indians—Their character—Early age at which the females marry, and their premature decay—Lamas—*No hai, Señor!*—*No hai nada, Señor!*—Trifling disappointment—Stage from Caiza to Potosi—Mountain of Potosi—Arrival in the imperial city.

March 15th. Before two o'clock in the morning I was full two leagues on my journey, lighted by the starry host of heaven. There was a delightful freshness in the air, which the birds as well as myself seemed to enjoy with peculiar pleasure, and as they raised their wild notes, I hurried my pace, to make the best of my way before the sun should again render all nature inanimate by his overpowering heat.

My road, for about twelve miles, lay through what, at one period of the world, must have been the channel of a mighty stream, on the bottom of which, covered with loose round stones, I now travelled; the solid adamantine banks on each side, towering in some places a hundred and fifty perpendicular feet above my head, and rent in

ten thousand different shapes, gave evident signs of some awful convulsion which nature had here undergone.

Except when some huge mountain interposed, for I was now amongst branches of the great Cordilleras, the road latterly was more convenient for the animals; but the ascent and descent of mountains, without meaning to ascribe to it actual danger, was at times terrific. Occasionally, after winding along the edge of a precipice, in a spiral direction, to the summit of a mountain, which I felt happy when attained by my breathless beast, it was still a subject of wonder how the valley beneath was to be reached in safety.

This day I rode three posts, nearly sixty English miles, and, but for the heat, should have felt little or no inconvenience, as I am now in what is called condition, and find my saddle as comfortable a seat as any to be met with in the twenty-four hours.

About sunset I arrived at the romantically situated village of Santiago de Cotagaita. The mountains surrounding it are covered with the *cactus*, which grows to a size sufficient for the construction of the houses of the country. The valleys are all fertile and tolerably cultivated. About twenty leagues from this place are the celebrated silver mines of Portugalette, which have been offered for sale to our commissioner; but in consequence of the extravagant mania which the proprietors had heard existed amongst Englishmen for these speculations, they imagined they had only to *ask* and *have*, and therefore put a price upon them beyond the bounds of reason.

With three-pennyworth of very good potatoes and a little salt, I this night made an excellent supper, and, notwithstanding interruption from a passing thunder storm, I slept soundly in the open air till four o'clock in the morning of

Thursday, 16th. Before I reached the post of Escara,

rain came down so fast that neither cloak, poncho, nor covering of any sort, was capable of resisting it. In five minutes I was drenched as if I had been plunged into the mountain torrents, that suddenly multiplied around me, and rushed roaring into the valley.

The Indians, who in this part of the country accompany travellers, although still called *postillions*, are no longer mounted. Throughout Peru they bear a despatch or perform a day's journey on foot with more alacrity than a horseman. I have heard wonderful stories of their performances. This very day my *pedestrian postilion* accompanied me with the greatest ease seven leagues, which I travelled at the rate of something more than four miles an hour, without a single stop; for it rained heavily, and I hurried as fast as my wretched animal was capable of going. This young man told me that he was not an *andador*, literally a *goer*, but that he had many companions who had gone, and frequently go, within the day, from Escara to Caiza, twenty-one post leagues, which is a distance little less than seventy English miles.

I have heard that it is not uncommon for one of these *andadores* to perform *thirty* leagues from sunrise to sunset.

The Peruvians are generally middle sized, muscular men; I have seldom seen one who would be admitted into any of our grenadier companies. They live chiefly on vegetables, of which the Indian corn and potato are the principal. They are not so abstemious with respect to drink, being very fond of their native *chicha* and of fermented liquors of every sort. They are extremely humble, and although they have given proofs of desperate courage and ferocity when roused to vengeance, they are nevertheless of a timid disposition, and as peaceably inclined as they are represented to have been, when Pi-

zarro, their murderous conqueror, invaded them three hundred years ago. Their dress, excepting the hat, which is precisely the shape of Don Quixote's helmet without the niche in it, reminded me of that of the peasantry of Connaught. They wear coarse brown frieze cloth breeches, with the waistband very low, and always open at the knees, the buttons being for ornament, not for use. Shirts are seldom worn; the legs are bare, with the exception of pieces of hide under the soles of the feet, tied sandal-fashion round the instep and toes.

An Englishman, and indeed every impartial traveller, of whatever country he may be, must admit, in spite of poetry, that the most beautiful women in the world are the English; compared with them, the female Indians are far from handsome, but I have seen some very finely formed. They become mothers at an age which in England is considered little more than that of childhood, but here it is rather unusual to see an Indian girl who has passed her fifteenth year, without her *waw-waw* (child) upon her back.

At one time, the Spanish government passed a law, "*pour augmenter le nombre des gens qui paient le tribut,*" enacting, that all Indians of the age of fifteen should marry; and fixing the age of fourteen for the male Indians, and thirteen for the females, as a fit and proper age to enter into the marriage state.

It has been truly observed that, under the ripening sun of these climates, the beauties of the female sex are developed long before they put forth their blossoms in northern regions. Their decay, however, is equally premature; women may be seen old at twenty.

The dress of the female Indians consists of a petticoat, worn much shorter by the unmarried than by those that are married, and a scarf of sundry colours round the shoulders, which is pinned on one side of the chest with

a *topa*, a large silver pin, occasionally of handsome workmanship; but sometimes they use a spoon, the handle of which being pointed serves as a pin, in a manner similar to that in which the ancient Britons used bodkins of bone and ivory to fasten their garments.

Cholas, those descended from Spanish and Indian parents, and whom some call "native peasants," are very fond of dress and ornament; I have seen them with *topas* of gold, set with pearls and precious stones, of considerable value.

In the course of this day I was agreeably surprised by a flock of lamas crossing the road sedately before me; being the first I had seen, I was particularly struck with their appearance; they were of different colours, brown, black, white, piebald, &c. Their fine mild prominent eye proves them to be, what in reality they are, extremely docile and gentle. They carry their long graceful necks somewhat like the camel, of which the lama, in the words of Buffon, "*semble etre un beau diminutif*," for the latter is infinitely more handsome, and without any of the deformity of the camel. The Indians use them for carrying burthens, but being very slow, they do not travel beyond four leagues a day, with a load weighing seldom more than seventy pounds. Buffon describes a lama which, at the time he saw it, had been eighteen months without drinking, "owing to the great abundance of saliva, which keeps the mouth continually moist." I recollect, when in Egypt, my astonishment at having been told that a camel, on which I was mounted, had been fourteen *days* without drinking.

I have this day been jogging upon my ambulating skeletons from four o'clock in the morning until past eight at night, and have, with wearisome difficulty, performed little more than thirty-five miles. After being several times wet to the skin with rain and as quickly

dried by the piercing beams of the sun, I stopped for the night at the post of Quirbe, and spread my bed under a fig-tree, the foliage of which protected me from the rain that continued to fall till daylight, when I rose and continued my journey on—

Saint Patrick's day. The road lay *in* and *through* the Rio Grande; for, from its serpentine course in the valley through which it flows, I forded it sixteen times in the distance of four leagues. On one occasion, my poor feeble animal was carried away by the current against the baggage mule, which happened to be to leeward, and, by standing steady, enabled us to recover, so as to stem the stream and gain the opposite bank, up which we scrambled in breathless haste and alarm. I had nothing to complain of with respect to being wet, for the rain which poured had already completely drenched me, but the coldness of the river was excessive. The midday sun, however, came forth as powerfully as usual, and soon both warmed and dried me, though not sooner than I was again drenched; for a dreadful thunder storm suddenly burst over the valley, accompanied with hail and rain in roaring torrents, under which we arrived, men and beasts (without much overstraining the metaphor,) like *drowned rats*, at the cheerless, comfortless post of Zoropalca.

When I enquired for horses, the postmaster pointed to a tree close in front of his hut, and said, "There they are, all ready!" I looked and beheld three wretched animals standing under the tree, shivering with chill poverty, heads hanging pensively downwards, ears back, eyes half closed, and bodies shrivelled up into the form of an arch for the convenience of throwing off the rain. "What!" said I, "have you no better than those?" "Better or worse, there are no others in this neighbourhood," said the postmaster. Upon looking at my watch,

I perceived that it must be dark night before I could reach the next post with such ill-conditioned hacks; but, bad as they were, I thought it better to hobble on, even through the storm, than to stop all night in a place where nothing was to be had; for when I asked for meat, I received the *customary* answer—"No hai, Señor!" "There is none, Sir!"—for potatoes, "No hai, Señor!"—for milk, "No hai, Señor!"—for eggs, "No hai, Señor!"—"What have you, then?" "No hai nada, Señor!"—"Nothing at all, Sir!" To form a true idea of the effect of this dismal announcement of famine to a starving traveller, it is requisite to have heard the peculiarly mournful tone in which "No hai, Señor!" "No hai nada, Señor!" is sighed out of the mouths of these people. Poverty, want, misery, and affliction, are conveyed at once in the melancholy sentence, and a single glance round the abode where the stranger stops confirms its lamentable truth.

Whilst I stood at the door of the hut, watching the animals with intense interest, as they fed upon a few stalks of Indian corn that had been sparingly thrown to them, and pondering upon the unpromising conclusion of the day's journey, a courier arrived on his way to Potosi, and by virtue of his office claimed a prior right to the mules of the postmaster. I do not think that five minutes by a stop-watch could have elapsed before the courier had dismounted, unsaddled his *own* mules, saddled *mine*, mounted them, and having, as a farewell salute, civilly touched his hat, saying "*Adios, Señor!*" disappeared round the corner of a projecting rock on his road to Potosi. I looked at José—José looked at me: I looked at the postmaster—the postmaster looked at me: I thrust both hands into my breeches pockets; my head sunk between my shoulders, or my shoulders rose above my head, I don't know which; but whatever can best represent confusion and disappointment will best repre-

sent me. I broke the silence of my woe by asking the postmaster questions which I might easily have answered myself:—"Have you no more animals?"—"No *hai, Señor!*"—"Surely you can procure me three or four asses?"—"No *hai nada, Señor!*"

To proceed was impossible; but being of opinion that there is no use in creating a civil war in the passions of the mind for what cannot be remedied, I resolved upon making misery itself amiable by patience and content. I therefore drew off my boots, that were converted into water-cans, and prepared to change my clothing, which adhered to my body like Dejanira's garment; but, upon opening my portmanteau, I found that I should gain nothing by the operation, for the Rio Grande, which I had crossed in so many deep places, and no doubt the rain also, had gained admittance and soaked into every thing I possessed. What was to be done? I still had a remedy left—to undress and go into my comfortable bed, whilst José should wring my clothes and hang them in different parts of the post hut to dry as they could. Opening my bed with this intent, I was something more than disappointed at finding it in a similar state with the things in my portmanteau, being literally soaked through, mattress, blankets, and all. I repeat, that I was something *more* than disappointed at this accident, because it might have been avoided. The oil-cloth case in which I carried my bed was sufficient to turn any rain, if properly placed; but, in the present instance, my careful José, notwithstanding repeated directions to place it upon the mule with the mouth downwards, had packed it in the reverse direction, and that so accurately as to catch every drop of rain which fell upon the back of the animal.

Enjoy the present hour, reckless of the morrow, says some philosopher; but he never meant that enjoyment

was to be found amongst half a dozen Indian huts at the desolate post of Zoropalca.

After viewing in sorrowful mood the disastrous state of all my worldly conveniences, which I had no means of remedying, I resolved to—

“Keep my spirits up by pouring spirits down,”

and called for my *chifles* to take a drop of comfort: but no such comfort was at hand; poor José, considering himself as much in need of it as his master, had anticipated me upon the road, and in the course of the thunder storm had drained my bullock's horns of the last drop they contained. This was indeed reducing my *spirits* to the lowest ebb; yet, after all, there is nothing very extraordinary in self-preservation.

I moved in a quick quarter deck pace up and down my cheerless habitation, which admitted of the range of a fisherman's walk, “three steps and overboard!” for about half an hour, then sat down upon a sheep-skin in a corner to seek consolation, which I found sooner than some persons may imagine, in the reflection that I had performed so long a journey without any accident hitherto, and that I had so nearly accomplished it, in the midst of the worst season of the year, without any particular annoyance, except what I have just related. When I summed up accounts on all sides, I found the balance so much in my favour, that I felt inclined to exult rather than to repine. Sentiments such as these caused the night to pass away without any unusual gloom or unhappiness.

18th. I was prepared to mount before daybreak, but had not the means of doing so, and perhaps I should have been doomed to pass another day in this desolate place, had not a young Indian volunteered, for a fair remuneration, to go into the mountains and collect two or

three mules for my use. I told him, through my peone, who understood Quichua, the original language of Peru, that I was willing to give any money if animals were provided. The demand was three rials (eighteen pence), which was immediately complied with, to the great joy of both the Indian and myself; to his, on so easily obtaining so much wealth, and to mine, on gaining a prospect of release from the bleak dell in which I was surrounded by still bleaker mountains, raising their rugged heads to the clouds, and frowning in sullen majesty upon the few living beings who vegetated beneath, but who, to me at least, were human only from their shape.

The Indian returned in as reasonable a time as impatience could expect, driving before him three sorry hacks, one of which I selected for myself, another for José, and the third for my wet baggage. Thus, with the postilion upon his own stout legs, fitter for the journey than all of us put together, we left the wild mountainous desert of Zoropalca, as miserable-looking a travelling group as ever was met with.

After hobbling along seven tedious leagues, through a narrow rocky valley, and most of the distance actually *in* the river that ran through the middle of it, we arrived at Caiza, a decent, *small* village, with a *large* church, filled with Indians on their knees celebrating mass, which they seldom fail to attend, but of which they understand not one word, though they may be aware of the solemnity of the ceremony and the nature of the duties connected with it.

For want of animals at the post, I was compelled to remain at Caiza for the night, but, on paying double postage, I secured three mules for the following day.

Sunday, 19th. Before one hour after midnight, I was on the last stage of my journey; a fine, frosty, starlight morning enlivening the spirits, which were already

elated by the near approach to the place where I was about to establish a home.

The distance from Caiza to Potosi is not less than forty miles, and, as the intermediate post is altogether destroyed, there is neither change of horses, nor any place where to obtain refreshment.

The country was more barren and more bleak than any through which I had yet travelled, but still the scene was new and interesting; the track led sometimes almost perpendicularly up and down high rocky mountains, sometimes along their steep shelving sides, sometimes through a ravine or a valley, and sometimes over a plain of little verdure, though covered with flocks of lamas, the only animal that can find subsistence on this unfruitful and inhospitable soil.

As the camel is suited to the sandy deserts of Arabia, so is the lama to the barren mountains of Peru: each is particularly adapted to its respective country, and rendered subservient to the use of man, where other animals would perish for want of subsistence, which they alone have the means of acquiring. Here again we may observe that, under whatever aspect we view the works of nature, they claim for their Divine Author the tribute of our admiration, our reverence, and our praise.

Towards the middle of the day the sun's heat was excessive, notwithstanding a chill penetrating wind, which came, not as in other climes, from "the sweet south, that breathes upon a bank of violets," but from the bleak south, rushing from the tops of distant mountains covered with eternal snow.

The road, as I advanced, although in no respect improved in itself, indicated the approach to a town of consideration. It was no longer an unfrequented solitude, as I had been accustomed to find it. Peasantry, with droves of asses and flocks of beautiful lamas, were

to be seen passing to and fro; some strolling lazily to the city, laden with fruits, vegetables, Indian corn, flour, charcoal, fire-wood, and other necessities; some returning from the market at a brisk pace, after disposing of their burdens, and hastening many leagues into the fruitful valleys of the country to renew them. Indians, male and female, with poultry, milk, eggs, and sundry commodities for consumption, enlivened the way, and apprised the hungry traveller that, although surrounded by bleak, uncultivated, and *uncultivable* mountains, he was still in the land of the living.

Suddenly appeared before me, in the distance, a high mountain of a reddish brown colour, in the shape of a perfect cone, and altogether distinct in its appearance from any thing of the kind I had ever seen. There was no mistaking it: it was that mountain which was made known to the world by the merest accident, by an Indian who, in pursuit of a lama up the steep, to save himself from falling, caught hold of a shrub, which being torn from the soil, exposed a mass of solid silver at the roots;—it was that mountain, incapable of producing even a blade of grass, which yet had attractions sufficient to cause a city to be built at its base, at one time containing a hundred thousand inhabitants;—it was that mountain, whose hidden treasures have withstood the laborious plunder of two hundred and fifty years, and still remain unexhausted. Having said thus much of the new and striking object before me, I need scarcely add that it was the celebrated mountain of Potosi.

Onward I rode, cheered by seeing the beacon which indicated the termination of my long journey; not so my jaded mule; it received no stimulus from that which to me acted as an exhilarating draught. Forty miles upon a bad road (my mule assured me it was full forty-five) is a wearisome distance before breakfast for either

man or beast; and mine, every mile I now advanced, gave indubitable evidence of exhausted strength: yet the means of refreshment were far distant from us both. Patience and perseverance were our only solace; and with these two efficacious virtues, I believe in my heart honestly adhered to by both of us, we mutually assisted each other; I by alighting to walk up hills and steeps, the mule, when I remounted, by jogging on, if the path happened to be free from rocks and stones; for the approach even to the *Imperial City* is nothing more than a rugged path tracked out by the footsteps of men and animals.

From the top of every eminence that I ascended for the last two hours of my journey, I felt a longing expectation of obtaining a view of the town; because to behold even at a distance the abode of rest, at the conclusion of a long voyage or journey, is a consolation, which every traveller anxiously seeks and enjoys with sensations of real pleasure; but this consolation is denied in approaching Potosi; neither house, nor dome, nor steeple, is to be seen at a distance. The last curve round the base of the silver mountain, whose pointed top was now far above my head in the cloudless deep blue sky, brought me at once upon the town, which, with its ruined suburbs, covered a vast extent beneath me, and in ten minutes more I was at the post house in the centre of it.

But it is not in the post house, that the traveller is to expect repose or comfort, for even here that abode is no better than the worst in any miserable village; there is no decent apartment to retire to, no refreshment to be obtained, no bed to rest upon, not even a chair to sit on, nor accommodation of any kind.

After throwing some barley to my poor mule, I sallied forth with my letters of introduction in search of a dinner; for, although I had not breakfasted, dinner hour

had arrived, and there being no tavern in Potosi wherein to obtain one, I was obliged to *sponge*, and succeeded to my infinite gratification in the house of Don Raymundo Hereña, a respectable shopkeeper, who probably never before had such a famished guest at his table.

In the evening I sought Monsieur Garda, the first agent despatched by the directors to this country upon forming the Potosi Association. Without having ever before seen each other, we met as intimate friends, because each knew the situation of each, and being embarked in the same boat, the feelings of companionship were reciprocal. After much interesting conversation with Monsieur Garda, it cannot be matter of surprise, that gradually my suppressed yawns should have given frequent notice of defrauded sleep, and intimated my desire to wish "good night." I retired to a very tolerable house, rented for the association, in one of the empty unfurnished rooms of which I made myself a bed; and I believe that, before the sun had withdrawn his last ray from the summit of the mountain of Potosi, I might have been numbered among the happy upon earth, if happiness consists in undisturbed repose, free from all the cares and troubles of the world. And as gratitude, genuine, undissembled gratitude, to our benefactors, is one of the best, as well as one of the most pleasing and soothing sensations of the human mind, I may perhaps have experienced some small share of its balmy influence, in the grateful remembrance of what I felt to be due to our first and greatest Benefactor—"even the God who helpeth us, and poureth His benefits upon us."

CHAPTER XVI.

Rapturous effusion of a native, on the riches produced from the mines of Potosi—A stroll through the city—Zorochi—Climate of Potosi—Visit to the summit of the mountain—Its height—City of Potosi higher than Quito—Method of extracting the silver from the ores—Wanton destruction of mining property—Mistaken notions of Europeans respecting mines and mining in South America—Enormous wealth extracted from the mountain of Potosi.

Potosi, March 20, 1826. Early to bed with those who are not naturally of a lazy habit occasions early rising. Before the first bell tolled for mass in the neighbouring church of Santo Domingo, I was already in the principal square of the town, looking up with admiration at the wonderful mountain, which rises like a colossal sugar-loaf above it to the height of nearly three thousand feet, and which, although half an hour's walk distant, yet seems so close, that if it were to fall over, it would, to all appearance, overwhelm the whole city.

A South American, who ascended to the top of this mountain, has given us the following effusion upon the good and bad effects of the riches it had produced. "The sublimity of the surrounding scenery did not so much interest my feelings as the celebrated mountain which has poured forth its *lavas* of silver upon the world—to animate enterprise and reward industry; to pamper the luxurious and minister to the comforts of the sober and virtuous; to disseminate knowledge and religion; and to spread the desolations of war; marshalling armies in the field, and pointing the thunder of navies upon the ocean; filling cities with monuments of taste and art, and overwhelming them with ruin; founding

mighty empires, and levelling them in the dust; inciting, in short, to virtue and to crime, and being the source of much good, and the root of all evil in the world."

The morning air was sharp and dry, and resembled altogether one of our finest March days, but at noon the sun was hotter than in our month of August. The brilliancy of the dark blue sky, without even a vestige of a cloud, was peculiarly remarkable. Humboldt observes that, "on the Cordilleras the azure is less blended with white, because there the air is constantly of an extreme dryness."

The streets were cleaner than those of any town I had hitherto seen in South America, and the practice of whitewashing the outside of all the houses added considerably to the appearance of cleanliness. This, however, does not apply to the inside, where every thing is filthy, with few exceptions, even in the first houses, some of which, like the stable of Augeas, seemed not to have been cleaned for thirty years.

The Indians, who compose one half of the inhabitants, are, in every sense of the expression, "a swinish multitude," but those who consider themselves so much their superiors are not, in every particular, a great deal better. Twenty years ago, the population of this city was reduced to half of what it once contained, and now it does not exceed twelve thousand souls.

I entered two or three of the plundered and dismantled churches, the walls of which formerly were, in some instances, literally covered with decorations of pure silver. I strolled round that immense uncouth pile, the Casa Moneda, or Royal Mint, erected at the cost of two millions of dollars. The common average coined within its walls for many years was four millions annually, being at the rate of upwards of ten thousand dollars a-day the whole year round.

On one side of the principal square of the city stands the government house, a long, low range of building, including *Salas de Justicia*, the jail, and a guard-house. Another side of the square is occupied by a prodigious heap of grey granite, a work which the Spaniards commenced twenty years ago, and which the present government are slowly continuing: when finished, it is to be consecrated, and called the Cathedral. Such an unsightly mass of stone I never before beheld. It has been profanely imagined, that if the pains and expense which it has cost had been bestowed in making fit approaches to the town, it would have been a work to the full as profitable for the soles and bodies of the public. In the middle of the same square, a sample of architecture worthy of the architect of the cathedral has lately been erected. I supposed it to be a shot manufactory, and my servant, whom I had occasion to send in that direction, inquired "If his way was not past the big chimney?" We were both mistaken: it is a national trophy in honour of the liberator, Simon Bolivar.

In continuing my stroll through the town I visited the *canchas*, (booths,) in the public market-place, where I had no expectation of seeing such abundance of every thing in the midst of a barren mountainous desert. Beef, mutton, pork, lama, (which resembles in taste lean mutton, and being very cheap is used by the poorer classes,) were all to be had, but not such as, in the cities of Europe, would be called prime meat. Fruits and vegetables were in plenty; of these, some would have been esteemed in Covent-garden, and others, being peculiar to the climates, were such as Covent-garden had never had to boast of. There were many different varieties of potatoes, some of which I had never before seen, but this being their native country, I was disappointed in not seeing a finer display. This nursery-

filling vegetable, to which Cobbett has so great an aversion, is called, in the language of the country, *papa*; throughout Peru it is in general use, and held in as high estimation as in Ireland. *Papas* form the principal food of the Indians, or rather the principal ingredient of their food; for they seem to understand the art of cookery infinitely better than the lower class of Irish, who pretty generally exist upon the simple "potato and salt," in many cases without a "sup of milk," and sometimes, such is their poverty, without even a "grain of salt" to relish their mawkish meal.

The Indians prepare their *olla* (round earthen pot) in a very savoury and substantial manner; their native lama affords them meat, salt is obtained in sundry districts in immense blocks, *aji* (Guinea pepper) they have in abundance, and are extremely fond of. To these ingredients the *papa* is added in considerably the greater proportion, also maize, (Indian corn,) the excellence of which as food, and the various ways in which it is dressed for both rich and poor in this country, seem altogether unknown in Europe. Should Cobbett succeed in his meritorious endeavour to encourage the cultivation of maize in England, his name will be cherished with gratitude by future generations, when, as the notorious author of the "Register" he may probably be forgotten and unknown, as though he had never lived. I must not omit mentioning a species of food made from the potato, and called here *chunu*, which is considered a great delicacy, and was held in estimation in the days of the Incas. I am not certain of the exact method by which *chunu* is made, but the first process is to freeze the potatoes thoroughly, then to pound them and dry them in the sun, in which state they will keep even for years, and form a wholesome and substantial food.

In my saunter through the town, if I did not see any

thing to prepossess me in favour of my new residence, I saw nothing that created a contrary effect. Indeed, every thing appeared to me much better than I had been led to expect from the accounts I had previously received.

When I returned to my lodging, I found fresh eggs, tolerable milk, intolerable butter, indifferent bread, and excellent chocolate, spread upon the floor of my apartment; for I have before observed that the house was taken unfurnished, and although the family still occupied one wing, and had not removed their goods and chattels, they had no table to spare; which I mention as a slight proof of the lack of the comforts and conveniences of life in the present state of society in South America.

I had not been many days at Potosi, when I was seized, as strangers generally are, with a severe attack of dysentery, which in eight and forty hours weakened me to such a degree that I could not, without difficulty, totter across my room; and there being no medical advice whatever to be had, I was obliged to follow that of my peon, who, in pure pity of my case, purchased a quantity of cream of tartar, of which he gave me several doses, and certainly I found relief, but whether from the medicine or from nature I pretend not to say.

In walking, I soon experienced that difficulty in breathing which is occasioned by the extreme rarity of the air, and which even the natives and animals are subject to. The royal sport of horse-racing cannot be attempted here, for horses appear to suffer from the *zorochi* more than men; I have heard many instances of their dropping down and expiring when pressed up a hill.

The climate of Potosi I have found, as had been previously mentioned to me, to present each day the changes of the four seasons of the year. The early part of the

morning is piercing cold; the forenoon is like our finest March day; from noon till about two or three o'clock the sun is broiling hot, whilst in the shade it is not only cool, but very cold. It was out of my power to ascertain the exact difference of temperature, for there is not in the imperial city one single thermometer, and those which we brought from England have all been broken on our journey. The evenings and early part of the nights are usually serene, and sometimes of a summer's mildness. The Creoles seem to be extremely sensible of cold, for they consider this climate an eternal winter, which they divide into "the dry winter and wet winter;" but the Indians (although like the Irish peasantry, half naked) are not so delicate. My own opinion, and I am inclined to think that all my countrymen who visit this place must be of the same, is, that, upon a fair estimate, we may consider it fine, wholesome, bracing, and by no means unpleasant weather.

I have observed that we are all liable upon arriving here to a severe attack of illness, but if it passes away, and good health returns as quickly as it has to me, there can be no cause for complaint.

16th. Our chief commissioner and his party have arrived at Potosi, where he has been kindly received by the prefect and all the local authorities, who offer their services in every possible way, in promoting the object of his mission. Indeed, we receive from all parties the most cordial congratulations, hailing our establishment as the advent of prosperity to the country, and supposing it to be the opening of an intercourse with England, from which the happiest results are anticipated.

22d. This fine frosty morning, having formed a party to visit the mountain, we ascended to the summit, which it generally takes about two hours to accomplish.

When nearly two thirds of the way, we dismounted

from our mules, and leaving them in charge of an Indian at the entrance of a mine, we proceeded on foot to the peak, where, in scrambling up, care was requisite to avoid kicking the loose stones, with which the surface of the mountain is covered, upon those who followed. The difficulty of respiration in ascending was very great, owing to the extreme rarity of the air at so unusual a height above the level of the sea. Some, according to the weakness of their constitution, or the delicacy of their lungs, felt this difficulty more than others of a stronger habit; I myself was of the latter. Those who have read the remarks of scientific travellers upon the effect produced by the rarefaction of the air in high situations, will have learned that it arises from the lightness of the atmosphere no longer contributing by its compression on the vessels to the retention of the blood, which, on its side, always maintains the power of action. This great rarefaction hastens lassitude, and contributes to exhaustion, for respiration becomes extremely oppressive at every exertion. Cold also increases in proportion as we are lifted into the atmosphere: the more elevated the situation the more penetrating it becomes. There is another singularity which is peculiar to the elevated parts of the Cordilleras, (and which I have experienced at Potosi,) that is, when you pass out of the shade into the sun, or *vice versa*, a greater difference or alteration is felt in the temperature of the air than when in the plains. There are times, when the sun is exceedingly powerful, that one step only into the shade is necessary to make you sensible of the cold.

The distance distinctly seen from the top of the mountain is such as the atmosphere of Europe nowhere admits; for here, five days out of every six throughout the year are of a clearness and brilliancy unparalleled

in the Old World. The height of the Cerro* del Potosi has been ascertained by Dr. Redhead to be 15,981 feet above the level of the Pacific Ocean, which agrees within eleven feet with a more recent measurement by Mr. Pentland, a gentleman who has travelled through Peru on scientific pursuits, and with whom I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted at Potosi. According to the computations of those gentlemen, the town of Potosi is situated at an elevation of 13,265 feet above the same level, being probably the highest inhabited place upon the globe, which certainly is not generally known; for the farm of Antisana, in the province of Quito, has hitherto passed for considerably the highest inhabited spot. M. Humboldt, in his "Table of heights, measured in different parts of the globe," gives to Antisana the elevation of 2,107 *toises*, (say 13,400 feet,) and remarks, that "it is without doubt one of the highest inhabited spots on the earth." It cannot be supposed that he would thus have particularised a "farm-house," had he been aware of the elevation of so considerable a city as Potosi, which he does not even mention, but gives the city of Quito (9,621 feet) as the next highest place, though not so high, by 3,600 feet, as the city of Potosi.

It has been asserted by some, that the cerro of Potosi is of volcanic origin; but this I have heard contradicted in the most positive manner. For myself, I presume not to offer any opinion on the subject; geology is a science which, till very lately, has been strangely neglected in England, even by those who have received the most liberal education.† I may, however, observe,

* Cerro means a rugged mountain.

† In the dedication of the "*Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*," Professor Buckland alludes to his "endeavours to call the attention of the University to the subject of *geology*, in order to combine with those

that, having visited Vesuvius and Etna, I saw nothing in or about the composition of the mountain of Potosi that resembled or reminded me of either of those volcanoes. Our chief miner in vain endeavoured to discover on or near the mountain any thing like pumice-stone, which would have been a convincing proof of volcanic origin had any such been found.

On the side next to the town, and at the foot of the great mountain, rising as it were against it, is a smaller, called by the Indians in the Quichua language, *Huayna Potocsi*, (son of Potosi, or Potosi the younger.) It facilitates the ascent to, but does not partake of the riches of, the former, almost every stone of which is in some degree metalliferous. There are, however, in the small mountain some mines from which considerable quantities of silver have been extracted. In the large one there are not less than five thousand *bocas minas* (mouths of mines); but it does not follow that there are five thousand distinct mines, for several mines have two, and some three, different mouths or entrances. This may convey a tolerably fair idea of the manner in which the cerro is perforated, but no idea can be formed of the nature and state of the mines themselves, which have been worked from their discovery to the present day, without the slightest regard to method, or even to common convenience. I entered several, in which I was obliged to crawl for many yards on my hands and feet; an estimate may thence be formed of the disadvantage at which the labourers work, and of the great loss of time that must ensue in conveying the ores out of the mines in sheep-skin aprons, as practised by the Indians.

It has been remarked, that to describe the nature of branches of study which are more strictly academical the cultivation of this *new* and interesting science."

the various ores, and the mode of extracting them from the bowels of the earth, and to explain the several processes by which the metals are separated from the substances with which they are mingled, either by the action of fire or the attractive powers of mercury, is more peculiarly the province of the natural philosopher or the chemist. Although, however, I am neither philosopher nor chemist, I shall here relate, and I trust with sufficient exactness for general comprehension, the method of extracting the metal from the ores, as practised by the *azogueros** of Potosi, from the operation in the mine to the production of the mass of silver called *pina*, and the sale of it in the national bank.

As many Indians as can work in the space within the mine are employed with implements and gunpowder in detaching the ore from the veins in which it is found. The pieces so detached are carried out to the mouth of the mine, where they are broken and reduced to small and nearly equal sizes, resembling the stones broken for repairing roads upon Macadam's principle. In this state they are put into sacks, and conveyed to the *ingenio* (the laboratory, or amalgamation works) upon asses and lamas, the former carrying 125 pounds each, and the latter half that quantity: forty ass loads make the measure called a *caxon*, which contains 5000 pounds weight. If the ore is quite dry, it is discharged into a store-house; if wet or damp, it is spread in a place called *pampeo*, where it is exposed to the sun till dry. It is next pounded to powder, by means of a heavy and awkward stamping-mill, moved by a water-wheel, after which it is passed through wire sieves.

* *Azoguero*, a name given to the proprietor of a mining establishment, is derived from *azogue*, quicksilver, which is the chief ingredient used in the process of extracting the precious metals from their ores.

The men attending this last operation are obliged to stuff their nostrils and ears with cotton, and wear a sort of mask to protect them from the noxious dust, which is so injurious to health, that the place where the sifting is carried on is jocularly called *mata gente*, i. e. "the kill people;" and a serious joke it has proved to the poor Indians for the last two hundred and fifty years.

The ore, now reduced to powder, is taken to the *buitron*, a large horizontal pavement in the middle of the *ingenio*, where it is deposited in heaps of twenty-five hundred weight each. Twenty of these heaps, which are called *cuerpos*, form one *lava*, or washing, of ten *caxones*, which is the usual quantity worked by one machine weekly; the *azogueros*, or mine proprietors, of the present day, not having sufficient capital to work upon a larger scale.

The twenty *cuerpos* of pulverized ore being placed in the *buitron*, a small quantity of water, with from 100 to 150 pounds of salt,* is thrown into each heap, to which, when well mixed, quicksilver is added, according to the judgment of the *beneficiador*, "amalgamator," who, previous to these operations, assays the ore and ascertains its richness, which enables him to judge with precision the quantity required, and which is augmented in proportion to the richness of the ore. A great part of this quicksilver is subsequently recovered; but the ascertained *certain loss*, according to this method of amalgamation, is half a pound of quicksilver for every half pound of silver that is produced.†

* There are inexhaustible deposits of salt within two or three days' journey from Potosi.

† In Mexico, the *azogueros* lose, I believe, generally from eleven to fourteen ounces of mercury for every eight ounces of silver extracted from the ores.

After the quicksilver has been incorporated, water is again added to the heaps until they become a thick mud, which is worked up every day by peones trampling it with their naked feet, and stirring it with shovels. The amalgamator observes the state of these masses each day, and orders the addition of lime, or lead, or tin, or vitriol, or quicksilver, as the case may require, to facilitate the amalgamation of the mercury and silver.

At the end of fifteen days, or thereabouts, when it is considered that the quicksilver has collected all the particles of silver which the ore contained, the process of amalgamation is concluded, and that of the *lava* (washing) takes place. This operation is performed in a kind of pit, the bottom of which is upon an inclined plane, with a small door arranged like a sluice. All the *cuerpos*, or heaps, are carried into it, and water is let in upon them by means of conduits, whilst two men with shovels are constantly stirring and assisting in liquidating the mass. This gradually runs off by the small opening at the sluice, and falls into a well about three feet deep, in the bottom of which the quicksilver and silver from the ore are caught, whilst the earth and other lighter impurities are carried off by the running water. Lest, however, any of the silver or quicksilver should escape, there is a second well, about six or eight yards from the first, into which the water is conducted; and beyond this there is a third well, which receives whatever may not have been deposited in the first two. A *lava* of ten *caxones* takes eight or ten hours to complete.

When the washing is finished, the silver and quicksilver deposited in the wells are taken out, and put into a strong cloth, in which they are squeezed until as much quicksilver as can be thus expressed runs off. The mass

which remains in the cloth is called *pella*. This mass is put into a wooden mould, and pounded down with great force by a wooden pounder. During this operation, a farther quantity of quicksilver is squeezed out, and escapes by a small aperture at the bottom of the mould. When the quicksilver ceases to run, the mass, now called *piña*, is taken out of the mould, which has given it a pyramidal form, resembling a sugar-loaf in size and shape, excepting that the former is octagonal.

The *piña*, to undergo its last operation, is placed in a sort of earthen oven, which we may call a crucible, round which a strong fire is made and kept up for the space of ten or twelve hours, when every particle of quicksilver is extracted by the action of the heat, and the *piña* remains a solid mass of pure silver, the smallest seldom weighing less than forty marcs, and the largest rarely exceeding one hundred and twenty, or say, 60lbs.

The *piñas* are taken to the National Bank and there purchased on account of government, at the rate of seven dollars and a half per marc (eight ounces), which being less than the intrinsic value, leaves a considerable profit to the government in their coinage. Besides this profit, there is also another arising from the alloy which is added in the mint. I repeatedly applied to the chief officer of the *Casa de moneda* for particulars upon this and other points connected with his department, but in vain; although *promises*, "Yes sir, why not? &c. &c." on his part were not wanting.

A few years previously to the revolution, forty *ingenios* were in active work at Potosi, and produced at a moderate calculation eight thousand marcs (four thousand pounds avoirdupois) of pure silver, weekly. This produce, although infinitely below that of former years, is nevertheless, as M. Humboldt observes, "undoubtedly still too considerable to allow us to assert, that the mines of Potosi

are no longer worth the trouble of working.”—“These mines, in their present state, (1803,)” continues M. Humboldt, “are not the first in the known world; but we rank them immediately after those of Guanaxuato,” the richest mining district of Mexico.

Since the period at which M. Humboldt wrote, the South American revolution has taken place; fifteen years of civil war have devastated the country, and the fortunes of the wealthiest inhabitants have been reduced to comparative insignificance: but no where has destruction been more mischievously active, more complete, and more manifest, than in the property of the *azogueros* of Peru. Their expensive machinery has been wantonly destroyed by the enemy; their extensive ingenios have been plundered and dilapidated; their mines, from having been so long abandoned, have crumbled in, filled with rubbish or with water, and their capitals, exposed to the arbitrary contributions of military chiefs, have been reduced to a pittance scarcely adequate, in the present day, to the decent maintenance of themselves and families. From these circumstances, it cannot be a subject of surprise, that there are now only fifteen ingenios at work in Potosi, and those on a very limited scale, but still producing, collectively, on an average, fifteen hundred marcs of silver weekly, (say £125,000 sterling per annum, nearly.)

It has been supposed that a *greater quantity* of silver can be extracted from the ores by amalgamation than what is obtained by the rude method of the natives. This is doubtful, but it is quite certain that a *greater profit* may be obtained by a general improvement in the whole system. The advantages that may be calculated upon by the introduction of improvement and machinery, to mention only those of a saving in time and consumption of quicksilver, are alone sufficient to hold out powerful

inducements to the miner who does not relinquish all prudence and judgment in the management of his establishment. But, although I have not the presumption to suppose that any statement of mine can alter the opinions, which in the hour of disappointment were so suddenly adopted, and have since been so inveterately maintained, by European speculators, on the subject of mining in South America, I shall, notwithstanding their prejudices, offer a few observations, which for the most part are supported by paramount authority.

The remarks that were published in many of the newspapers on mining speculations, at the time of the great mania, were, if sometimes true, frequently the reverse, but very seldom free from prejudice, arising either from party spirit, the disappointment of extravagant hopes, or the design of accomplishing some private end. I recollect to have seen in a periodical, which has particularly distinguished itself for its indefatigable zeal in detecting, and its uncompromising spirit in *opposing* and *exposing* the numerous schemes that have been concocted, some in ignorance and folly, others in absolute fraud—the following observations on mining companies, being “Extracts of a letter from Peru.” “To us, at so great a distance from England, these things appear very strange, to see on the lists of directors names of men pretending to character, and many of them *rich*” (this climax of *character*, by the way, to us who have no such ingredient to boast of, savours strongly of the city), “thus exposing themselves to be covered with disgrace, for not one of these companies can do any good.” We are not told *why* they cannot do any good; but had the writer stopped here, with reference to *those companies*, their establishments, and their plans, he would notwithstanding the vagueness of his assertion, have been perfectly correct. But when he continues thus,—“It is

physically impossible they can succeed, and this must be known to every man who has been here, or who would take the trouble of enquiring."—This, I reply, in his own words, *every man who has been here must know* is perfectly ridiculous. What has occurred in the realms of nature, science, or art, to make it now "physically impossible" to work to advantage the silver mines of Peru? Have they not been worked for three centuries to advantage, without any other interruption than that which has taken place solely in consequence of the political events of the country? I think I hear the writer reply—that it is precisely because they have been worked for such a length of time, that they are now unproductive, nay, exhausted. But as well might it be said that the coal pits of Newcastle are exhausted, because they have been worked for a long series of years.

"Agents from London," continues the writer, "are seen or heard of in every province, bargaining for mines; they have turned the brains of the Spaniards, who had long given up mining in despair."—In despair of what?—I may be permitted to ask this question, because, here again, the *why* and the *wherefore* are not mentioned. The only *despair* that could have troubled the Spaniards, with respect to their mines, was despair of the produce with which they annually loaded their ships ever reaching a port of Spain when that country was at war with England. The chances then were, that every galleon which sailed for Spain would be either captured or blown up by British cruisers. Our history informs us that, even at the time of the Commonwealth, the capture of Spanish ships laden with the produce of the mines of America was considered so certain, that Cromwell expected to pay his troops from the booty, without laying new burthens on the people.

There could not have been cause for despair, under

an idea that their mines were exhausted, or that there was any improbability of finding new ones. But I need not intrude any opinion of my own, when I can adduce the evidence of a distinguished authority, whose laborious investigations in the New World have been particularly directed to the subject of its mines.—“The abundance of silver in the chain of the Andes is in general such, that when we reflect on the number of mineral depositories which remain *untouched*, or which have been *very superficially* wrought, we are tempted to believe that Europeans have yet *scarcely begun* to enjoy the inexhaustible fund of wealth contained in the New World.”—“I am not ignorant that, in thus expressing myself, I am directly opposed to the authors of a great number of works on political economy, in which it is affirmed that the mines of America are partly *exhausted* and partly *too deep* ever to be worked with advantage, &c.”—“It appears to me superfluous to refute opinions at variance with innumerable *facts*, and we ought not to be astonished at the *extreme levity* with which people in Europe judge of the state of the mines of the New World.”*

I readily admit that many blanks occur in the lottery of mining, and that enormous sums have been lavished in the speculation; but it is not less true that, in many cases, “the magnitude of the object bears a fair proportion to the magnitude of the stake.”

A celebrated author, who wrote fifty years ago, thus expressed himself on the wealth of the mines of South America. “The exuberant profusion with which the mountains of the New World poured forth their treasures astonished mankind, who had been accustomed hitherto to receive a penurious supply of the precious metals from

* Humboldt, Political Essay on New Spain, vol. iii. chap. xi., where all the *facts* alluded to may be seen, and the corroboration of them in “Ward’s Mexico.”

the more scanty stores contained in the mines of the ancient hemisphere. According to principles of computation which appear to be extremely moderate, the quantity of gold and silver that has been regularly entered in the ports of Spain is equal in value to four millions sterling annually, reckoning from the year 1492, in which America was discovered, to the present time. This, in two hundred and eighty-three years, amounts to eleven hundred and thirty-two millions. Immense as this sum is, the Spanish writers contend, that as much more ought to be added, in consideration of treasure which has been extracted from the mines, and imported fraudulently into Spain, without paying duty to the king. By this account, Spain has drawn from the New World a supply of wealth, amounting at least to *two thousand millions* of pounds sterling.* Another celebrated writer, when mentioning the enormous wealth in gold and silver which the Spaniards found in the New World, observes, that it was not equal to the riches of the mines. “*Les richesses que l'on trouva dans les pays conquis n'étoient pourtant pas proportionnées à celles de leur mines.*”† And who can assert that those mines are “exhausted,” in a country where the aid of machinery has never been introduced, and where thousands of square leagues are yet unexplored?

It may not be considered irrelevant to remark, that the statement of the amount of gold and silver imported into Europe from America, as given by Robertson, differs materially from that by Humboldt. Indeed, all the writers on this subject disagree one with the other; but whoever wishes to investigate it with precision, cannot fail of being gratified in consulting Humboldt's “Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain,” wherein he

* Robertson, Hist. of America.

† Montesq. Esp. des Loix.

reduces the whole to as accurate a conclusion as can well be expected, where so very much depends upon mere conjecture. It seems, however, to be admitted, that Europe received much more gold than silver from the New World, *until the discovery of the mountain of Potosi*—a circumstance which encourages me to give the following particulars of that celebrated place, under the hope, that they will be found both curious and interesting.

Doctor Nicol, a medical gentleman who has been practising his profession for some years past with the greatest success in Peru, presented me with an original manuscript, written by one of the last Spanish ministers of finance in South America, and dedicated by him to the celebrated Godoy, then at the *acmé* of his power. The title page translated runs thus : “ Manifest of the annual production of the copious stream of silver, poured forth from the wonderful mountain of Potosi, from its discovery to the 31st of December, 1800. Drawn up by the minister who signs it, and remits it to the greatness of the most excellent Signor the Prince of the Peace.—Signed on the 1st May, 1802, by Lamberto de Sierra, Minister of Finance, Accountant and Treasurer of the Royal Coffers in the imperial city of Potosi.”

In the preface, the writer observes, “ My work, most excellent sir, is very short, but cost me much labour to arrange in a clear methodical manner, having examined with infinite patience two hundred and forty-six royal books ; an operation which none of my predecessors in office had ever before attempted ; thereby giving me the satisfaction to think, that this curious document will serve at least to adorn the distinguished library of your excellency, whose important life may God preserve many years.”

The accidental discovery of the riches of the mountain of Potosi, I have alluded to on a former occasion,

and it is well authenticated, that an Indian named Diego Gualca, when pursuing a lama, made that discovery in the year 1545; but the manuscript in question gives a different account of the particulars; for, instead of the Indian "pulling up a shrub, at the roots of which he found a mass of silver," and which is the general report, it is herein stated, that "at night he made a fire on the side of the mountain, and in the morning he perceived a quantity of silver, that had melted and spread on the surface of the ground; which circumstance is noted in the archives of this treasury." I think there are reasons for inclining to the former account as the most probable, and although it is very immaterial which of them happens to be the true one, I did not wish to pass over the statement given in an authentic document.

"Having examined," continues the treasurer, "the great number of books that have accumulated in this office from the period of its foundation, it results, that in the year 1556, the working of these mines formally commenced, then reigning the majesty of the Lord Don Philip II. (*who in glory is!*) But for the eleven years preceding, that is, from 1545, in which this mountain was discovered, no account exists of what it produced, or of the duties which OUGHT to have been paid to his majesty. Those which are proved to have been paid and received into this treasury, from the aforesaid year 1556 to the 31st December, 1800, are represented in each year of the two hundred and forty-six years which this certified document embraces."

These two hundred and forty-six years the treasurer divides into three periods. The first includes twenty-three years, when the duties on the produce of the mines were twenty per cent., called royal fifths.

The second period includes one hundred and fifty-eight years, when the same royal fifths were levied, together

with an additional tax of one and a half per cent. called *derechos de cobos*, making the exorbitant duty of twenty-one and a half per cent. to the crown, and which that barbarous edict the Mita, *i. e.* the conscription by which the Indians were forced to gratuitous, or nearly gratuitous, labour, chiefly enabled the mine proprietors to pay. Twelve thousand Indians, according to Miller, were annually subject to the Mita conscription in Potosi; but it is now acknowledged that the forced labour of the Indians was not of such very great advantage to the mine proprietors as some have supposed. Half the number of men at gratuitous labour perform that which occupied nearly double the number under the Mita system, when it must not be forgotten, the proprietors were under the necessity of feeding and supporting their slaves, although they paid them little or no wages.

"It has been computed," observes Miller, "that eight millions two hundred and eighty-five thousand Indians have perished in the mines of Peru!" Assuredly this would not have been the case under a wise government, which in discountenancing the barbarities of slavery, held out fit encouragement to free labour. And he alludes to the mines of Germany and Hungary, where the workmen employed live happily, and prefer their condition to any other.

Powerful, however, as the assistance obtained by this work of cruel slavery may have been, it was not sufficient to admit of the continuance of a duty so oppressive, when the ores ceased to yield the enormous riches which, for a great portion of this period, (according to the document in the treasury,) averaged at different periods, 25, 50, 100, and even 500 marcs of silver the *caxon*; without including the great number of years when solid silver was cut with chisels out of the rich or principal vein. It appears that, for the first seventy-three years of this

period, the duties *paid* to the crown amounted to nearly eighty-eight millions of dollars, of which the year 1593 contributed the largest sum, viz. "one million five hundred and eighty-nine thousand six hundred and sixty-two dollars." But, when the Veta Rica and other very rich mines were exhausted or inundated, the labour of the poor Indians was not sufficient to enable their merciless masters, who lived in an extravagantly expensive manner, to pay the king's fifths. Accordingly, in the year 1736, these rapacious exactions were reduced to *reales diezmos*, (royal tenths) and from that date, up to the year 1801, the third and last period is included.

The return, which has been published, exhibits at one view the sums paid in each period to the crown, and also the *principals* from which such sums were deducted; the latter amounting, in the language of the manuscript, to "the very commendable sum" of nearly *eight hundred and twenty-four millions* of dollars! thereby proving the Abbé Raynal's assertion, that in no country on the globe, has nature ever offered to the avidity of man such mines of riches as those of Potosi.

Now, although the return evidently places Potosi—"precious jewel of nature!" without any rival in the mineral world hitherto known, a few short extracts from the treasurer's manuscript will show, that, enormous as the sum is, it probably is not more than a *fourth part* of the actual amount extracted from this mountain. Humboldt says, that *more than a third* of the silver was never registered.

It must not escape attention, that the millions above mentioned are those only which were actually *paid in duties*, and all the world knows the schemes practised, and the exertions made, to evade *duties*, which, even under the most vigilant regulations, are frequently attended with success. It is therefore impossible to say to what

extent smuggling may have been carried in a country where abuses of all kinds were general; where the rapacity and peculation of officers and all public functionaries were notorious; where the unreasonable excess of the duties made the temptation to evade them proportionably great; and where the facility of doing so was aided by the unguarded and peculiar nature of the country.

The produce of the first eleven years, previous to the formal working of the mines, of which *no account* was given, is likewise to be considered. So also is the prodigious quantity manufactured every year into articles of furniture, ornaments and utensils of every kind, that were to be seen in extravagant profusion in the churches and in the houses of the rich, and in abundance in those of others; none of which paid *the duties*, nor has any account been kept of their value.

The temptation to smuggle silver to the ports of the Pacific and elsewhere was irresistible; "the French and Portuguese," according to Don Lamberto, "paid from eleven to fourteen dollars per marc of eight ounces, for which the government paid but seven dollars and a half: this, with the duty of $21\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. that was evaded, made it a lucrative trade for the *contrabandista*, and the extent to which it was carried on is altogether unknown.

When these circumstances are considered, the most extravagant conjecture would probably fall short of the true amount of the riches extracted from Potosi. A curate, named Alonzo Barba, has calculated, that the number of dollars coined from the silver of the mountain, would "cover an extent of sixty square leagues!" We may fairly state that in the actual value produced the palm of superiority above any mining district in the world, is fairly due to the *Cerro del Potosi*.

CHAPTER XVII.

Opening of the college of Pichincha—Improvement in the public mind—Purchase of pictures—Barbarous edict against dogs—House rent—Visit to the lakes—Mining district of Puno.

May 2d. Our chief commissioner having transferred the charge of our concerns into my hands, left Potosi for Arica, there to wait the arrival of our ship, the cargo of which has been calculated to exceed three thousand mule loads. Baron Czettritz has also set out for Puno, to survey the mines in that province, where there is every prospect of forming a beneficial establishment.

6th. All the public authorities, with a large concourse of people, went in procession to open the college of Pichincha, an establishment for public instruction upon a liberal system, one of the first of the kind in this part of the country. The building, which has been chosen for a college, where the rising generation are to imbibe the spirit of tolerance, and acquire the principles of a liberal education, had been for upwards of one hundred and twenty years the gloomy abode of *intolerance*, indolence, and superstition. It was a convent of bearded Bethlehemite friars, *Religiosos Bellemitas*, who have been ejected, and their ample possessions, which supported in luxury and sloth a useless herd of private individuals, have now been appropriated to the maintenance of a public institution of the first importance to the state.

An assembly was held in the chapel of the college, formerly the rich and gaudy church of the convent. Here the ceremony was opened by a Latin speech, delivered by one of the intended students, chiefly in praise of Bolivar and Sucre, whom all the speakers that fol-

lowed, also made the theme of their discourse in Spanish. The prefect charged the governors and masters who were to be entrusted with the education of the scholars, to bring them up in a very different manner from that in which he himself and all his contemporaries had been brought up under their late despots. He recommended them to take example from the English nation, whose principles of liberality and tolerance had obtained them the respect and admiration of the universe. The clergyman who had been selected as head master of the establishment, followed in an equally liberal strain, and exulted in the honour of his appointment to preside over the first institution for the instruction of the youth of his country in which their education was free, and not, as hitherto, subject to the blighting influence of a despotic will. Other speakers made honourable mention of Locke, Socrates, Newton, Canning, Plato, Boyle, Washington, Alexander the Great, Homer, and Nebuchadnezzar. When all were tired of speaking, which was not before all were tired of listening, the company withdrew from the church to the refectory, where, if the tables were not laden as luxuriously as in the days of the fathers, there was at least a repast sufficient to afford a couple of hours of genuine hilarity. The event which the party had met to celebrate was one of present joy and future hope to every body ; it was, in truth, a grand epoch in the annals of a nation, which, by its own persevering struggles had just emancipated itself from a state of the most abject slavery ; and as the surest preventive against its recurrence, this first establishment for the free education of youth was founded in general joy and jubilee, under the conviction of the truth of their motto, which was selected from the works of l'Abbé de Mably :—*L'instruction publique est sans doute la meilleure base des mœurs.*

Instruction, public or private, on liberal principles, was contrary to the system of the late rulers of America. The darker the ignorance* in which the minds of the people were held, the easier the task of keeping them in humiliating bondage; for incarceration of the mind, it is admitted, like that of the body, subdues its energies, and lulls into apathy and indifference. But, prejudiced must that eye be which cannot discern the dawn that is now succeeding the late long and gloomy night of odious oppression. There are some, however, who imagine that these people have scarcely advanced a single step beyond that benighted period, when the timid Indian, with reverential awe beheld a white man with a beard as a divinity from heaven; when the discharge of fire arms was believed to be the thunder and lightning of avenging gods; and when the horse champing his bit was looked on with dread amazement. There are some who scarcely admit that these people now know themselves to be *men*, and all mankind to be but their fellow-creatures—a knowledge in the present case not altogether so simple and superficial as the expression of it may appear—it is the consequence of that intellectual improvement which has commenced and, with the spirit of liberty, must in due time extend with powerful effect throughout the boundless range of this imperfectly known portion of the globe. Already has the state of Buenos Ayres, notwithstanding its political dissensions, advanced in all the improvements of civilisation beyond any precedent; in an instant she has made a stride of half a cen-

* Permission was solicited of Charles IV. to found a university in Venezuela: his majesty, having consulted the council of the Indies, answered in a royal decree, that he did not conceive it proper for learning to become general in America. See, summary of the Spanish Colonial System, *drawn from sources of unquestionable authenticity* in Miller's *Memoirs*, Vol. I.

ture. In the republic of Chili the evils of disorder and misrule seem to have subsided, and the advantages of peace and industry, from which the true greatness of a nation springs, have become the peculiar care of the legislature.

These examples cannot be thrown away upon the neighbouring states, who, though tardy in following them, are by no means insensible to their paramount importance. Let us not be deceived by our prejudices, or by any contemptuous feeling towards this "semi-barbarous" people; for although much remains to be performed, and civil contentions still continue to distract them, yet the stream of living waters having gushed forth, will assuredly flow on; and even the next generation may see it diverge in a thousand channels, diffusing its fertilising effects through every class of society, and converting many a dreary desert into a scene of happiness and joy.

6th. The following extracts from the first letter I wrote to the directors after the departure of our chief commissioner from Potosi, exhibit the hopes we entertained of the success of our speculation.

"Gentlemen,

"Although I have nothing particular to add to what General Paroissien mentioned in his last despatch, yet as it must be gratifying to your Board to hear that your concerns in this quarter of the world continue to promise well, I think it my duty not to let the post depart without a few lines. I can assure you we have hitherto had every cause to congratulate ourselves on our prospects, as well as on our favourable reception by the government, the authorities, and indeed by all classes of the people; and should the good ship Potosi arrive at the port of her destination in safety, and your Board

continue for a short time to support us, no doubt can exist of our ultimate success.

“My constant intercourse with persons capable of giving information on the subject of our enterprise, and my friendly intimacy with every person of reputation here, enable me confidently and conscientiously to make this assertion.

“Every preparation has been made at Arica for the reception of the ship, the arrival of which we wait with feelings of the deepest anxiety; and such is the state of progress in which our *ingenio* and mines now are, that after the arrival of our artificers and implements, every hour may be turned to account. In Oruro, a thousand quintals of barley have been bought to feed our mules on their transit, and every precaution has been taken to provide the needful for our people.

“The absence of our chief commissioner from head quarters for so long a time as he is likely to be detained, is much to be regretted; but I hope by unremitting attention in some degree to make up for the abilities of General Paroissien. I shall only add, that so long as the management and control of your concerns remain in my hands, I shall perform my duty to the utmost of my power.

“I have the honour to be, &c.”

In the foregoing letter I enclosed a copy of a memorial, presented by our chief commissioner to the president of the republic, soliciting certain rights and privileges, and claiming a security for the association in all its future undertakings. The substance of the memorial was as follows:—

I. That the Potosi, La Paz, and Peruvian mining company may enjoy the protection of the government, and of the laws.

II. That the company, through its representative, may purchase either from government, or from private individuals, mines, amalgamation works, estates, or other property, and that it may fully enjoy all privileges and exemptions, such as are specially guaranteed to the corporation of *azogueros*, or mine proprietors.

III. That in the event of a war between this republic and any other state, all the property belonging to the company shall be respected according to the law of nations, and that the individuals dependent on the company shall enjoy the same privileges as in time of peace, &c.

The government replied to the foregoing by a decree to the following effect:—

It is conceded to the chief commissioner or representative of the English mining company of Potosi, to undertake his operations within this state, under the guarantees and securities which are solicited in the several articles of his memorial, subject to the laws of the state. The government farther offer every protection due to an enterprize of so much advantage to the country, &c.

24th. In the mornings and evenings we have now very sharp cold, and at night frost. The day resembles our very finest, sharpest March weather in England; but the sun, as may be expected between the nineteenth and twentieth degree of latitude, is, of course, much hotter. The sky here is such as is seldom seen in Europe, being one spotless canopy of the purest azure, and the atmosphere so dry, that in pulling off a flannel waistcoat or worsted stocking in the dark, sparks are distinctly seen, and the same in patting or rather rubbing a horse's neck, which sometimes emits sparks and sounds like an electrifying machine.

26th. Accidentally strolling into the church, La Matriz, an ancient building erected by the Jesuits, and gazing round me at something or at nothing, several

pictures between two and three feet square, in a most neglected state, attracted my attention, and seemed, through the accumulated dust of ages, even at the great height at which they hung, to merit closer examination. I requested the sacristan to take one down; and, by means of a scaffolding, which we ingeniously composed of tables, confession-chairs, and three thick mass-books, he succeeded in wresting from the spiders a Holy Family, which safely descended upon earth in a cloud of dust. Upon examining the picture, I was not disappointed; it exhibits traces of an easy, if not an able hand, of the Italian school, and is painted upon copper; but no name, initials, or monogram appeared, by which to ascertain the master. The subject is that of the Holy Family in their flight to Egypt. They are seated on the left, under a shade of fruit and forest trees; the Virgin Mother, with a ray of glory round her head, is dressed in a blue tunic, which hangs loosely upon her shoulders, and, falling in ample folds, covers the whole of the lower part of her person; an under garment, of which the body and right sleeve are only seen, is of light purple. The countenance is perfectly feminine and pleasing; the head is gracefully turned in an attitude of attention to Joseph, who seems to be explaining the subject of a book which lies open upon his knees. The infant Saviour is seated on the lap of his mother, and in the act of stretching out his hands with infantine anxiety to catch a bunch of flowers, which one of a group of four children is playfully presenting. The ease, the attitude, and the colouring of the infant, are in every respect to be admired. The same may be said of Joseph, whose countenance is full of mild though manly expression; he is not, as we so frequently see him represented, in the last stage of decrepitude, but a hale man of forty-five or fifty. Four children, gracefully group-

ed, are dancing before the principal figures, but notwithstanding their rosy health and juvenile animation, I wished them all at school, for this conceit of the master is not in accordance with all that we know of the history of the flight into Egypt. On the right is a distant view of a city; the landscape, though pleasing, has been evidently but a secondary consideration with the painter. The whole, however, forms an extremely interesting picture, and would be considered an ornament to any collection.

The Jesuits brought many valuable paintings to this country, but almost all have been lost, or have perished by neglect. Among those which hung round the walls of the church, were others, apparently by the same hand as the former. The subject of one of them is Christ exorcising the evil spirit from the man possessed of devils; a very spirited production. Another, is the Samaritan woman at the well. A third, the woman kissing the hem of Christ's garment; all good compositions, and pleasing pictures.

The sacristan was so surprised and so wearied by my long examination of such *rubbish*, that he went and acquainted the curate with the circumstance. The curate acquainted the rector, that *el Senor Secretario* (the appellation by which I am usually known at Potosi) had been all the forenoon examining *las pinturas antiguas de los Jesuitas*, and seemed to take a great fancy to them.—“Do you think he'd buy them?” said the curate.—“Ask him,” said the rector.—“*Corriente*,” (with all my heart,) said the curate, who came and enquired if such was my wish.—I replied in the affirmative, so far as regarded four of them.—“You must take all or none,” said the curate.—“That's hard,” said I, and so I thought it, to be compelled to take a houseful of rubbish; in order to become possessed of one or two articles of *gusto*.

"What do you *ask* for the whole?" said I.—"Two hundred and twenty dollars," said the curate.

Now, from the first merchant or the most respectable person of any condition in America down to the woman at her fruit-stall, "What do you *ask*?" is always the first question of a purchaser; the second, "What will you *take*?" and the answer to these preliminary interrogatories are frequently as wide of each other as Cape Horn and Cape Clear. I have known the price *taken* reduced to a third of that which was *asked*. This Jew-like custom is so general, that although the price asked for any article be *less* than what the purchaser at first expected, still he would rather go without it than take it at the original demand; there *must* be an abatement, or no sale can be effected. The consequence is, that merchants, and all those who may have any thing to sell, from an estate to a pair of shoes, ask a price far beyond what they have any expectation of getting.

My second question to the curate was therefore—"What will you take?"—"I will take two hundred dollars," said he.—"If you will take one hundred and fifty," said I, "the bargain is made."—"Venga la plata," (down with your dust,) said the curate, "for I am in a hurry, and must go to the convent to confess Doña Jesusa, a sick nun."—I counted out one hundred and fifty dollars, with which the curate walked off, leaving me his blessing into the bargain.

The pictures were delivered, and I believe to this hour we are both satisfied.

30th. An order has been issued for all silversmiths, blacksmiths, and shoemakers, to produce to the chief of police, within the space of seven days, ten dead dogs each, under the penalty of twelve dollars for every dog that may be wanting of the number. This, I understand, is an annual decree, in consequence of the in-

crease of those animals in and about Potosi. Their number is certainly very great, for an Indian is seldom seen unaccompanied by two, three, or four; but they might easily be destroyed in a less barbarous manner than that which is practised here, which is absolutely a reproach upon the government that permits it, and a disgrace to the people who can calmly witness the scene. The master workmen who are called upon for their quota of dogs, employ boys, to whom they pay a *media*, three-pence, for every dog they bring, dead or alive, to their door. These urchins go through the streets in pairs, one furnished with a lasso, the other with a club. When sufficiently near to their game, the lasso is dexterously thrown, and, the dog being noosed, the club is then employed, until death puts an end to the dreadful howlings which proclaim through the neighbourhood the sufferings of the unfortunate animal. The mangled carcass is then dragged to the door of him who contracted for it, and there it remains, with others, in a disgusting heap, until the number is complete. The boys on these occasions have *carte blanche*; no one can reprehend them, and no dog is exempt, during seven days, from this murderous decree: those who have a favourite must therefore keep him closely imprisoned during that period.

The first intimation I received of this *guerra de muerte* (war of death) was when riding in the morning to our ingenio, accompanied as usual by Carlo, I heard him suddenly cry out in a tone of distress; and turning round to discover the cause, I saw that he had been struck in the attempt to be lassoed. Immediately afterwards, I saw a heap of dead dogs at the door of a smith, and upon enquiry, I was informed of the government decree, and warned to take care of my friend. I thanked the smith for his information, and galloped home, followed close at my horse's heels by Carlo, with his tail down,

ears back, and so perfectly on the *qui vive*, that it was easy to perceive he had heard the deadly news, and was aware of the danger he had escaped.

June 1st. This day I took possession of a house, which I hired for receiving the people and cargo of our ship; it is the largest in Potosi, and certainly ranks among the very good houses of America. It contains many spacious rooms, with innumerable closets, dark holes and corners, adapted for store-rooms: also *altos*, (meaning a second story,) which from the dearness and extreme scarcity of timber, all houses in Potosi do not possess. In those districts, where earthquakes are prevalent, *altos* are not usual, on account of the danger attending their fall. The house in question has the advantage of having the windows of all the principal apartments glazed; a very expensive luxury in this quarter of the world, where cotton or linen blinds have hitherto supplied the place of glass, but, since the intercourse with Europe, the latter is coming into general use. I have hired the house from the 1st of June, for one year, at the rate of eight hundred and fifty dollars, which, although under one hundred and seventy pounds sterling, is nevertheless considered a high rent. The house we at present occupy at a rent of seventy pounds is a very good one, but little more than a third of the size of the *casa Linares*, which is the name of our new house, called after its owner, Doña Josefa de Linares, a lady of a family of wealth and distinction.

This day corresponds with our first of December in Europe; the weather, however, is very different, being extremely dry, and not a cloud to be seen in the firmament. Very hot in the sun, and very cold in the shade, is the usual temperature of Potosi; but, as I have before observed, there being neither thermometer nor barome-

ter in the imperial city, and ours being all broken on our journey, I cannot ascertain the exact degree of temperature, though at this season the mean of the thermometer may probably be about 60°. For my own part, I consider the weather good, and I am certain the climate is healthy.

June 14th. This government has just issued a decree, offering special protection to foreigners who may come and reside in the Republic, and setting forth that all religions are tolerated, an indulgence unheard of and unknown during the dominion of Spain. This is as it should be; a grand step in the career of liberty, and proves that the people wish to become the associates of freemen.

20th. A delightfully fine, sharp, fresh morning. At an early hour I mounted my horse, and proceeded in company with a large party, to visit Las Lagunas, the lakes, constructed by the Spaniards for the supply of the town with water, or rather for the supply of the machinery of the ingenios, without which they could not have procured in such abundance that which engrossed their whole attention, and gave them much greater concern than the public accommodation—the acquirement of the precious metals.

After riding about two leagues through the barren, stony, rocky, mountainous country, which environs Potosi, we came to the first lake, in describing which, I describe them all, amounting to thirty-seven. The place chosen for the lake is a narrow valley, so situated that nothing was required in the construction, except a strong dam or breast-work run across from the mountains on each side, and of sufficient height and strength to keep in the water, which in the rainy season pours in floods into the valleys. A sluice in the middle of the breast-

work regulates the quantity of water sent by means of conduits to the town, to supply the public fountains and those of private houses ; that for the ingenios is sent in a stream of sufficient force to turn their ungainly machinery. One of these lakes, about ten miles from the town, can alone supply the whole city for six months, but, in consequence of it and others being out of repair, and two very dry seasons following, the inhabitants were last year in the greatest necessity and alarm for want of water.

These lakes were formed upwards of two hundred years ago, at enormous and much needless expense ; for it was pointed out to me, and indeed I thought it sufficiently obvious, that within two miles of the town, instead of six, seven, eight, nine, and ten miles distant, there were situations equally eligible for forming lakes, or if it so pleased, one lake capable of containing a quantity of water equal to that of the whole thirty-seven.

21. The mining district of Puno, where Baron Czettritz is now surveying mines with the intention of purchasing them for our association, seems to have escaped the notice of the indefatigable Humboldt, which is rather surprising, as its mines were formerly astonishingly productive, and at the present day, their importance as a speculation is not inferior to any of the New World. General Miller, who was prefect of the department, has made very particular mention of the mining district in his late interesting memoirs, and quotes from Ulloa some passages relative to the unfortunate Salcedo, whose wealth acquired from these mines was the chief cause of his having been led to the scaffold under the vice-regal government of Lima. The following particulars respecting the mines of Puno, have for the most part been extracted from a document sent to me by our chief commissioner, who mentions it to be " the report of an in-

telligent gentleman, drawn up by the desire of a Lima merchant," who has lately acquired property in the neighbourhood, with the intention of working the mines.

Puno, like all other mineral districts in this country, is situated in a high range of hills, forming the western boundary of the extensive lake of Titicaca, which is eighty leagues in circumference, and placed at an elevation of 12,761 feet above the level of the Pacific Ocean. It was in this lake that the Indians at the time of the conquest threw immense treasures of gold and silver, to save them from falling into the hands of the Spaniards; among these was a famous gold chain, of extraordinary size, said to have been made by order of the Inca Huyna Capac, to commemorate a festival given on the birth of his eldest son.

The hills of Puno are composed chiefly of a porphyritic rock, which reposes on a sandstone formation, similar to the red marl and sandstone formation of the British Islands, and to the great red sandstone formation of the continent of Europe. In its general disposition, as in its mineralogical characters, the porphyry of Puno corresponds exactly with those metalliferous porphyries which have produced the immense riches of the Real del Monte, of the Bolanos, and partly of the Guanaxuato mines in Mexico, and with those of Hungary and Transylvania; and, like them, it abounds in veins containing the precious metals.

The hills of Cancharani, Laycaycota, and San José, are one continuous range, formed of this porphyry nearly to their bases, and in it are situated the rich veins of silver ore which have rendered these several mines so celebrated. They contain all the ores of silver hitherto met with in similar districts, the muriate and carbonate excepted.

The great resemblance which the mineral district of

Puno presents in its geological disposition and metallic minerals to the rich mines of Mexico, warrants a belief, nay a confidence, in the almost fabulous account of the produce of some of its mines, as handed down by history and by tradition to the present day. All the mines situated in the hill of Laycaycota, once the property of Salcedo, have acquired, not only in Peru, but throughout America, a celebrity little inferior to those of Potosi.

One of the mines on the summit of the cerro de Laycaycota produced in a few years such immense wealth to Salcedo, as to collect round him a great number of adventurers from the mother country; so great was his generosity, that he would allow his needy countrymen, who applied to him for relief, to enter his mines, and work for a certain time, leaving the chance of their profits to their own labour: this was at all times, even under the worst luck, an extremely valuable license. The influence which his liberality procured for him, excited the jealousy of the vice-regal government, and in the year 1669, disturbances of a serious nature, in which Salcedo took a conspicuous part, having broken out at Puno, the viceroy proceeded thither in person, made him prisoner, and carried him to Lima, where he was executed as a public traitor. His mines were then taken possession of by the Spanish government, and worked until water gained access, and compelled their abandonment, at a moment, when, according to authentic records, confirmed by local tradition, "pure silver was cut in solid masses from the body of the veins."

It is to be regretted that the archives containing an account of the produce of the mines during Salcedo's life have been destroyed; a document, however, has been furnished by the provincial government of Puno, exhibiting a produce for a short period, which, if it were not founded on official record, we could scarcely credit.

By this document it appears, that in the space of twelve months, 163,569 marcs of silver, amounting to £229,000 sterling, were "*registered*" at the provincial treasury; and this is to be considered as a very ordinary year, since, in another twelve months, the amount of "*duties paid*" into the same treasury, exceeded one million of dollars, which at the rate of $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. supposes the produce of the mines to have amounted to the enormous quantity of 1,240,000 marcs of silver, or £1,740,000 sterling, within the space of *one year*, exclusively of what was manufactured or carried away without paying any duty. This produce far exceeds any thing of the kind in modern times, and only finds a parallel in the returns furnished by the mine of *Veta negra de Sombrerete*, in Mexico, a single seam of which produced in five or six months, all charges deducted, a net profit of twenty millions of francs, or £833.400 sterling. The proprietary of this mine is in the family of Fagoaga, Marquis of Apartado, who, M. Humboldt observes, exhibits the example of the greatest wealth ever derived from a mine. That of *Biscaina*, in the district of Real del Monte, may perhaps also be mentioned as a parallel, it having made its proprietor, the Conde de Regla, one of the richest men of the age. In the year 1774 he had already drawn a net profit of nearly a million and a half British sterling from his mine. And, as a proof of the princely munificence of the conde, he constructed at his own expense, at the Havana, two ships of war, one of them of 120 guns, which he presented as a free gift to his sovereign, King Charles the Third.

About thirty years ago, the mines of San José and Laycaycota were very productive, until water flowed in, for draining which adits were commenced; but bad management, want of capital, and interruption from civil war, have likewise occasioned their abandonment.

These mines, however, are considered among the most valuable in Peru, and, possessing a combination of advantages rarely to be met with in such speculations, they are well adapted for a company of a few individuals who would undertake to work them. The sum necessary for the undertaking, upon a liberal scale, may be estimated at about £20,000 sterling. An abundant supply of miners can at all times be obtained from among the large Indian population collected round the chief town of the department, where the price of labour does not exceed two shillings a day. No expensive European machinery is requisite: the compact nature of the rock dispenses with the cost of arching the adits and galleries: the well known richness of the ore ensures a profitable return, and the repayment of all disbursements might reasonably be expected within eighteen months from the period of commencing the operations. It is confidently asserted, that the mines of San José and Laycaycota might, in a short period, be made to produce a quantity of silver as much superior to that which they gave Salcedo, as the present system of working is superior to the one practised at the time when that unfortunate individual obtained such great riches from them.

The Puno mining district, being surrounded on all sides by arid mountains, is almost destitute of wood, the only fuel used being the dried dung of domestic animals, chiefly of the lama; consequently, here as elsewhere, the process of amalgamation has been followed on nearly as rough and unscientific a plan as when first introduced in the year 1571. The richness of the ores of Puno, and their frequent associations with those of lead and copper, render them well adapted for fusion; but it will scarcely be believed in Europe at the present day, that the only method employed for extracting the silver from the argentiferous sulphurets of lead and cop-

per is by amalgamation; a process which, however well executed, considering the nature of the ores, is insufficient for the obtaining the entire silver contained in the minerals; whilst the lead and copper, with which the silver is associated, and which bring a very high price in this country, are entirely lost to the miner.

Two thirds of the ores of the Puno mineral district being combinations of the kind above mentioned, they are peculiarly well adapted for smelting furnaces; the advantages to be derived from the introduction of them, must, therefore, be evident; for by their operation a large proportion of the copper and lead will be saved, and a greater quantity of silver produced than can be extracted by the process of amalgamation. At the present day, the loss of mercury in the extraction of silver from its ores in the few amalgamation works about Puno and Lampa, amounts to from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. on the value of the silver extracted; whilst, in the process of smelting, the whole of the silver may be obtained at an eighth of the same expense, in one tenth less time, consequently with infinitely less labour; and, in addition to the silver, a large quantity of copper and lead may be reckoned upon, which, in Peru, will always meet with a ready market, and produce no inconsiderable return.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Anxiety and ennui in the midst of merriment—Sudden check in the proceedings of the Potosi Mining Association—Letter from the Secretary to the Directors—Mistaken confidence—Alarming operation—Military despotism—*Diligencia publica*—*Dona Juliana*.

June 28th. This day has been productive to me of strange vicissitudes,—feasting, fasting, amusement, uneasiness, and anxiety. Its amusement commenced in the Government-house, where I was invited by the prefect to celebrate his “saint-day,” which is what at home we call our birth-day, and where, with nine persons out of ten, it passes away without being noticed, and perhaps, as in my own case, without being known. Not so in these countries of true Catholics, where all persons of high or of mean degree commemorate their saint’s day with appropriate festivity; and, as every person takes the name of the saint who patronises the day of his birth, the Roman calendar is conveniently supplied with a saint or saintess for every day in the year.

This was the day of Saint Leon, and the birth-day of our prefect Leon Galindo, who gave a very handsome dinner, to which every person of respectability in Potosi was invited, and, out of compliment to the English nation more than from the private friendship which has subsisted between him and myself, I was placed first upon his right. Wines of all sorts were consumed in loyal and patriotic toasts, and many complimentary ones in honour of the gallant host, who is also colonel of the regiment of Bogota. All this would have passed away as merrily with me as it did with others, if, during dinner-time, a friend had not put into my hand a letter

which he had just received from Oruro, stating that a report had arrived there of General Paroissien's having been attacked by robbers on his way to Arica, plundered of all he possessed, and his servant murdered in the fray. In the course of the evening two other letters, that had arrived by the Buenos Ayres mail, were delivered to me. One of these was from Don Felix Castro, our agent in that city, (who had been empowered by our chief commissioner to draw upon the association to the amount of £12,000,) stating that, in consequence of the great number of bills returned protested from England, owing to failures of merchants and banking-houses, he declined accepting any more drafts until he should receive advice of the payment of the bill drawn in December last upon the directors for the above-mentioned sum.

The other letter, of a still more dispiriting nature, was from the company's solicitor in London, giving a deplorable account of the state of things in England, and mentioning, not only that a call for a second instalment would be hopeless, but that some of the directors, holding a large number of shares, were unable to pay their first quota. This information instantly chilled the sanguine hopes I had hitherto entertained of the ultimate prosperity of our enterprise, because the salaries alone of our monstrous establishment, exceeding ten thousand pounds sterling per annum, rendered it impossible to carry on the operations to any advantage without an advance of money. These circumstances ill disposed me to partake of the pleasures of the banquet, and subsequently of the ball and supper, with which Leon Galindo concluded the day of Saint Leon.

July 5. Our anxiety respecting General Paroissien had every day, up to the present, been increased to a painful degree by various reports tending to confirm the original one, which, however, is now contradicted by a

letter from himself, dated Tacna, 22d June, in which he does not mention a syllable on the subject of his being *attacked* by robbers; but sadly deplores a loss he sustained by means of one, namely, his slave Nicholas, who absconded on the journey, making choice of two of his best mules, several loose articles from his wardrobe, and a silk purse, the value of which happened to be considerably enhanced by its contents—thirteen ounces of gold.

The Buenos Ayres courier has this day conveyed to my hands despatches from England, containing gloomy accounts of the depressed state of the money-market, and the dullness in all the commercial interests of the country. But that which I had never even suspected the probability of receiving, was an angry letter from our Buenos Ayres agent. It is impossible for me to describe the feelings it excited: had I been convicted of any great crime I could scarcely have felt more dejected or abashed. I little thought, that on the very day twelve-month of my appointment by the society, I should have received intelligence of a nature to compel me to make such a communication as here follows to the Chairman and Directors of the Potosi Association.

“GENTLEMEN,

“The inclosed copy of a letter from Don Felix Castro will convey some idea of the disappointment and indignation occasioned by the protest of your chief commissioner’s draught upon your board, a proceeding which has thrown all of us here into a state of astonishment, confusion, and distress, quite impossible to be described, and mortifying in a degree proportionate to the success that has hitherto attended our exertions, and assured us till now of deriving the happiest results from all our undertakings.

"That the first check in the prosperous career of this association should proceed from your board, is to us utterly unaccountable, and appears as unprovoked an act of suicide as ever was committed in the world of business.

"What must be the feelings of my friend General Paroissien, when he receives my despatch conveying this death-blow to all his zealous exertions in your cause, and, perhaps, to his own credit and reputation for ever! All the bills which have been drawn upon our agent in Buenos Ayres, for carrying on your business here, will shortly be returned to complete our dishonour, and thus seal the doom of this once promising speculation.

"I am, &c."

I forthwith stopped the working of the mines, the preparations in Linares' house, the purchases of corn, timber, lime, charcoal, and retrenched expenses wherever it was in my power so to do. With respect to money matters, I had availed myself of my authority to draw on Buenos Ayres to the amount of about a thousand dollars, for which sum I had given bills to a private individual, under circumstances so peculiar, that I could not now refrain from considering the transaction as binding on myself. My young friend Don Cristobal came one day to my office, and said that he had five hundred dollars which he wished to send by bill to his mother in Buenos Ayres, and that two or three merchants had offered him 12 per cent. premium for the cash, (which was, in fact, the rate of exchange;) but, continued he, "my anxiety is so great that my mother should receive the money without chance of disappointment from the bill I send her, that I will gladly give the cash to you, Don Edmondo, for *half* the premium, and I will consider your accepting it an act of friendship; for I am con-

vinced that no disappointment can happen to any bill of the company's." "That is quite certain," said I, and immediately drew the bill for value received, feeling at the same time a double gratification in having obliged a friend and served my employers.

A few days afterwards, Don Cristobal again called on me with a bag of dollars, requesting me to take them on similar terms, which I did, giving him my bill with all the confidence of a prime minister drawing on the treasury of the state. And here I must observe, that strong as my own confidence was in the solvency and stability of our association, it was not stronger than that which pervaded all classes of society in this country respecting us.

When my despatches disclosed the fate of our chief commissioner's draft upon the Board of Directors, I immediately thought of those which I had drawn, and felt that but little mercy would be shown in recovering their amount, nor indeed could any be expected. It would, however, have been an easy matter for me to let the bills take their course at the cost and dishonour of the society at large; I should in that case have gained in time between two and three months before their return, and as much more in suffering a recovery of their amount at law. Such was the *advice* I received, but it was not so easy to forget the unsuspecting confidence of my friend; I was therefore induced to listen to the counsel of another and a better monitor,—that "still small voice" which never errs, and which I now obeyed.

I sent for my friend, and communicated to him the occurrence which had so suddenly changed the aspect of our affairs, and destroyed the validity of my drafts; but as the transaction between him and myself originated in friendship, it was my desire to conclude it on the same terms. I then reimbursed him the amount from my

private funds, and enabled him to procure better bills than those of the society, which henceforth lost all credit. My friend was grateful, and I, notwithstanding personal inconvenience, felt that I had done what I ought to have done, and nothing more.

13th. In consequence of a complaint called here "*fluxion*," being a swelling of the face attended with severe pain, which is prevalent at this season of the year, and which invariably brings on tooth-ache, I sent for the dentist, that is, the barber; for I have already had occasion to remark, that no individual in a medical, surgical, or physical capacity, exists in Potosi. When the barber appeared with his implements, I must confess that the pain, which had long been torturing me, instantly gave way to terror. Heavens! what a leathern bagful of iron tools he placed upon my table! In the swollen condition of my face, I felt assured that I could not open my mouth wide enough to receive the smallest of them. Country blacksmiths sometimes use similar instruments in their calling of horse-shoeing; but, for a human operation, I never before saw any thing of the kind. When the man had been gone about a quarter of an hour, and when the cold shivering occasioned by the sight of his machinery had subsided, the pain returned, and I felt ashamed of my pusillanimity. Better, said I to myself, endure the torture of that man for five minutes, than the torture of this tooth for hours and days: then feeling if it was loose, I thought it seemed tighter than ever in its socket. Still, I had courage to send a second time for the executioner, who appeared quite as soon as I desired, and with a smile upon his countenance, which bespoke any thing but sympathy, for it ill accorded with the solemnity of mine, he exclaimed—" *Ahora, caballero, si Dios quiere, á la obra,*" i. e.—"Now, sir, with God's will, to business." Then, taking me by the shoulders, he

made me sit down upon the floor, and standing colossus-like above me, jammed my head between his knees. I was resignation personified, meekly surrendering myself without a struggle to his efforts, which, truth compels me to acknowledge, I was in a great degree prevented from making by the duration in which I was held between his nervous limbs. He grinned, I screamed; and the more he grinned the louder I bellowed; but I must also confess that I had no hope of being relieved so soon and so successfully as I was; for, in about three minutes, and with three tugs, the last accompanied with a *haugh!* similar to what paviors utter when using their pounder with all their might, the tooth was wrenched from my head, and flew, bang, through a pane of glass in the window. I thought that my jaw had accompanied it, and, putting up my hand to feel, was so surprised at finding all safe, that I paid, at my own discretion, the liberal fee of two dollars, and blessed my stars when he who caused my pleasure and my pain vanished from my presence.

21st. The following letter from me to our secretary in London, depicts, in some degree, our situation at Potosi.

“By letters from Baron Czettritz, I am informed that our chief commissioner has left Arica and gone to Lima, to endeavour to obtain permission for our cargo to enter free of duty, which Baron Czettritz mentions will be a saving, if granted, of nearly thirty-five thousand dollars. In consequence of leaving Arica, the chief commissioner has not received my late communication, and therefore is still ignorant of the dishonour that has befallen his drafts. Already bills have been returned, and are returning upon us from all parts, rejected by Don Felix Castro. You may form some idea of the expenses attending the protests, from the charge of twenty thou-

sand dollars being already made upon the bill for 12,000*l.* owing to the ruinous rate of exchange.

"If some decisive step is not immediately taken to counteract the consequences, I know not what will become of us here. You have placed us in a shameful and cruel predicament, which we feel the more, in consequence of the success we had every reason to believe we were on the fair road for ensuring. We had just surmounted many difficulties, and fancied that, for the accomplishment of our enterprise, it only remained for us to fulfil our engagements here with zeal and activity, which hitherto, I conscientiously believe, have not been wanting."

27th. In shaking off the Spanish yoke, the natives, and particularly the Indians of this country, have been relieved, beyond all doubt, from much tyranny and oppression, and generally great public benefits have accrued from the revolution; but *true* liberty, and many of her inestimable attributes, are yet wanting, and some time must pass before they are thoroughly understood or firmly established. Military despotism still prevails to a very great degree, and the civil laws of the country, although good and well designed, are, in some instances, administered with flagrant partiality, and in others with a tardiness and negligence that deprive them of all good effects, and tend, perhaps, as much to the encouragement of crime as to the protection of order and morality. The wisest laws, we all know, must prove ineffective, if they have not for basis a government capable of supporting and resolved to enforce them. The disposition of the new government of Bolivia is certainly good; but firmness, decision, and even the *means* of compelling obedience, are yet wanting, which is the true cause of that feverish restlessness, apprehension,

and distrust, so manifest in the public mind throughout South America.

I have known a man, who had murdered a woman, of whose fidelity he entertained suspicion, to be released after a few weeks' imprisonment; he was a member of the higher order, and had friends to intercede in his behalf. I have seen two other persons shot for murder, but after so long an imprisonment, that, upon enquiring amongst the crowd "What was their crime?" no one could inform me, and I was ultimately obliged to satisfy my curiosity by applying to one of the officers of justice. The public were ignorant of the cause, and therefore the example was lost. These, unhappily, are far from being solitary instances of the mal-administration of the laws. On the other hand, the military frequently commit the most vexatious outrages with impunity. When travelling upon public or private business, they take mules and whatever necessities they may require, at the post houses, or, indeed from any other houses, without paying a farthing, under the pretence that they are on "*diligencia publica*," (public service.) This abominable practice, one of the miseries of war, is sometimes carried here, as elsewhere, to an unwarrantable extent. During the Peninsular war, I have often witnessed the carrying off the corn and provender in the house of a farmer, or the oxen from his plough, under the same plea. Often, in my capacity of "*Capitan de la Caballeria ligera*," have I embargoed a string of mules, conducted by their unsuspecting muleteer, singing—"I am a smuggler brave and bold, I defy the whole world, and fear no one upon earth!" This must be considered rather unhappy, when in the midst of the glee he has been compelled to wheel round to a very different tune, and load his mules with the baggage of my regiment, I of course selecting the best for myself on dili-

gencia publica. In vain would the unhappy muleteer implore for his release; custom had rendered my heart as hard and cold as the steel in the drawn sword I flourished in my hand. I have seen a baker's shop visited on *diligencia publica*, and have known detachments of what the French significantly term "*l'armée de la lune*" make sad uproar among the tenantry of farm-yards on *diligencia publica*. The official documents issued for these purposes to the sufferers, will, it is pretended, be recognised by the government in payment of taxes, duties, contributions, &c.

These abuses, it is true, are discountenanced by the legislature of this country, and orders have been issued against them; but still they are practised, and the complaints of the aggrieved are frequently unattended to. A young officer, whom I chanced to meet at a post house, told me exultingly, that, having been refused mules by a postmaster, he immediately ordered the men composing a small detachment under his orders to take one of the peones to show where the mules were at grass, and after driving them home, and selecting those which he required, he put a horse's bit into the mouth of the postmaster, and securing the bridle round his head, drove him in company with his own mules for five leagues, then, striking him with the flat of his sword across the shoulders, sent him off, with the usual friendly compliment, "Good bye, a pleasant journey, friend."

In the streets of Potosi, soldiers may be seen every day seizing Indians to clean their barracks, to carry their provisions, or for any work they require to be done, driving them before them like beasts of burden. Artisans or workmen, whose services may be required for any business connected with the army, are immediately put in requisition, and compelled to perform the work

for a given price at the discretion of the chief. If an officer wants forage for his horse, he despatches a couple of soldiers to seize the lamas or asses that may arrive with *alfa*, or barley, for the market. These are driven to the quarters of the officer, who pays the owner something, or perhaps nothing, just as he feels disposed, although he is at the same time aware he is acting contrary to the laws. There is no nation, however corrupt, observes the Abbé de Mably, which has not *in its archives* the finest laws in the world—they require only to be executed.

It must be admitted that the nature of the country, and the difficulty of communication with the seat of government, are great impediments to the prompt execution of justice. The Spaniards, as is proved in Spain even to this day, have never considered *roads*, as the ancient Romans did, to be “the great arteries of the state.” These improvements are yet to come, and though some time must elapse before they take place, yet they have not escaped the notice of the patriotic legislature.

Having mentioned the military, I must in justice observe, that the Colombian troops which garrison Potosi, particularly the regiments of *Bogotá* and *Volligeros*, are in every particular equal to any regiment I ever saw in Spain. The men are as well clothed and as well disciplined, and the officers are altogether what is called *a right good set*. I have been on intimate terms with these officers, some of them negroes; but one and all I must ever think of as friendly, jovial, good fellows. I can also speak to the excellence of their regimental mess.

August 4th. Received official intelligence of the safe arrival of our valuable ship in the port of Arica, after a favourable voyage. It is impossible for me to describe

the sensation which my announcement of this event produced in Potosi: from the prefect to the meanest person in the town, I received not only the usual expressions of congratulation, but also embraces so enthusiastically cordial, that a stranger passing through the streets might have imagined I was the harbinger of some great public intelligence, in which the happiness of the nation was concerned; and this very circumstance excited in *us* a deeper concern at the disappointments which had occurred in our affairs at home, at the very time too when we fancied ourselves on the high road to prosperity; for although there was much to correct in the original plan of our establishment, there was nothing that induced us to doubt, under proper management, of ultimate success. Already we looked forward to the completion of our contracts, when we should return to our native land with pride and satisfaction in having been the successful founders of a "*grande et belle enterprise*," as this speculation had been designated by a distinguished individual who was well acquainted with the nature of it in all its ramifications; but our resources have been suddenly cut off, and success no longer depends upon us.

On the news of the arrival of our ship, I recommenced mining operations on a scale which, though very limited, I considered to be more advantageous than actual idleness; therefore, for this purpose, and to have every thing in readiness by the time our men and stores should cross the Cordilleras to join us, as well as for the support of the establishment here, I drew a bill upon the chief commissioner at Arica for the sum of two thousand dollars, to be paid out of the sale of a part of our quicksilver, which in this country always finds a ready market and a good price.

6th. I availed myself this day of a general invitation to dinner, given with unfeigned cordiality by Doña

Juliana Indalesias, the rich widow of a man who, before the revolution, was one of the first among the many wealthy merchants then residing in Potosi.

Doña Juliana never omits daily attendance at mass, nor absents herself from any procession or particular ceremony of her church, and would consider it a crime to conceal her veneration for the images and paintings of saints which hallow and adorn her apartments. She also highly respects, and distinguishes from all her other friends, those whose peculiar calling it is to instruct mankind in the sacred doctrines of religion, seldom sitting down to dinner unaccompanied by a priest or friar, who have free admission to her plentiful table. That, however, which may excite surprise, because so seldom in accordance with ostentatious acts of devotion, is the fact that she possesses the kindest heart in the world, and dispenses charity with true benevolence. She is known by the appellation of "*La buena Cristiana*," and never was distinction more deservedly bestowed.

Doña Juliana, Cura Costas, (the respectable head of the church at Potosi,) Padre Francisco, (a Dominican friar, whose portly corporation excited in my mind a malicious suspicion of his being more accustomed to feasting than fasting,) were the party with whom, at two o'clock, I sat down to dinner. Three Indian girls, the children of old domestics, clean and tidy; an Indian boy, as may be sometimes seen in another "land of potatoes," shirtless, shoeless, and stockingless: a very fine negress slave, and an elderly woman, evidently the confidential servant, were the attendants.

In all families in Peru, the domestic service is performed by Indians, whose fidelity to their masters has been the theme of many writers; and, from the great number of years which some of them have lived in

families with whom I am acquainted, I believe the accounts to be generally correct. The honesty of these domestics is seldom tempted to a breach by the many articles of plate which are frequently to be seen scattered about a house, and even in the court yard, where they are carelessly thrown to be washed, or sometimes to be scrubbed with sand or ashes. Before the revolution, articles of gold, such as coffee spoons, *maté* cups, *bombillos*, (tubes through which the *maté*, an infusion of a Paraguay herb resembling tea drawn into the mouth,) were to be seen strewed in a similar state of indifference. It must, however, be confessed, that little pilferings are not very unusual amongst this poor, patient, and laborious class of people.

For nearly an hour, immense silver dishes were carried in and carried out, with the various compositions of our repast. The first course consisted, as is usual in the country, of cheese and fruit, such as melons, apples, figs, chirimoyas, tunas, membrillos, &c. Then came two or three kinds of soup or porridge, with rice prepared in different ways. After these were removed, there was no regularity observed in the courses; for, whilst some of the attendants carried off the dishes that had been helped from, or if not touched by us, that had remained long enough upon the table to gratify our view, others were at hand instantly to replace them: there was no opportunity given to remark, that—

“There was the place where the pasty was not.”

Each dish contained sufficient for a party of twice our number; and from every one I observed Doña Juliana take a large plateful, sometimes two platefuls, and, saying something in Quichua, hand them to one of her Indians, who placed them in a distant corner of the room.

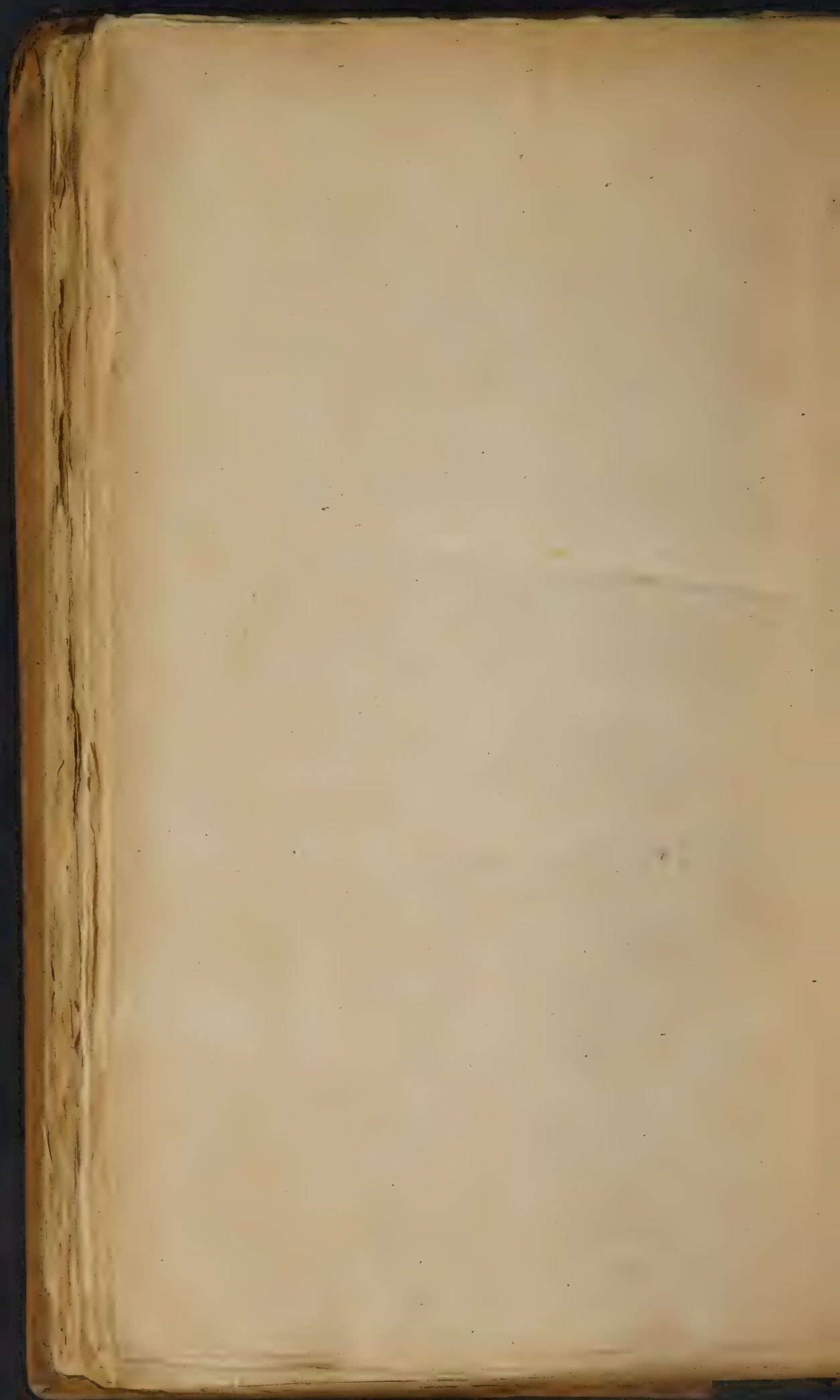
When the more substantial subjects of the feast were

discussed, then followed custards, and compotes, and sweetmeats, from which small portions were also taken, to be husbanded, as I imagined, for to-morrow's fare. A dish of very good potatoes, accompanied with very bad butter, concluded the dinner. When the cloth was removed, all the attendants, without any word of command, ranged themselves in a rank in the middle of the room, and suddenly dropping on their knees, sung or said aloud a grace that lasted full four minutes, in which the deep toned voices of Padre Costas and Friar Francisco, nothing mellowed by their hearty meal and ample goblet of Cinty wine from the estate of our hostess, chimed in like bass viols, whilst Doña Juliana, pressing her cross and beads to her bosom, her eyes devoutly fixed upon a beautiful painting of the Virgin and Child, which hung opposite to her in a large massive silver frame, accompanied the others in all the fervency of thanksgiving. A deep "Amen!" with the sign of the cross, as a benediction upon the company, by Padre Costas, ended this appropriate ceremony, in the solemnity of which the most obdurate heretic could not have refrained from joining.

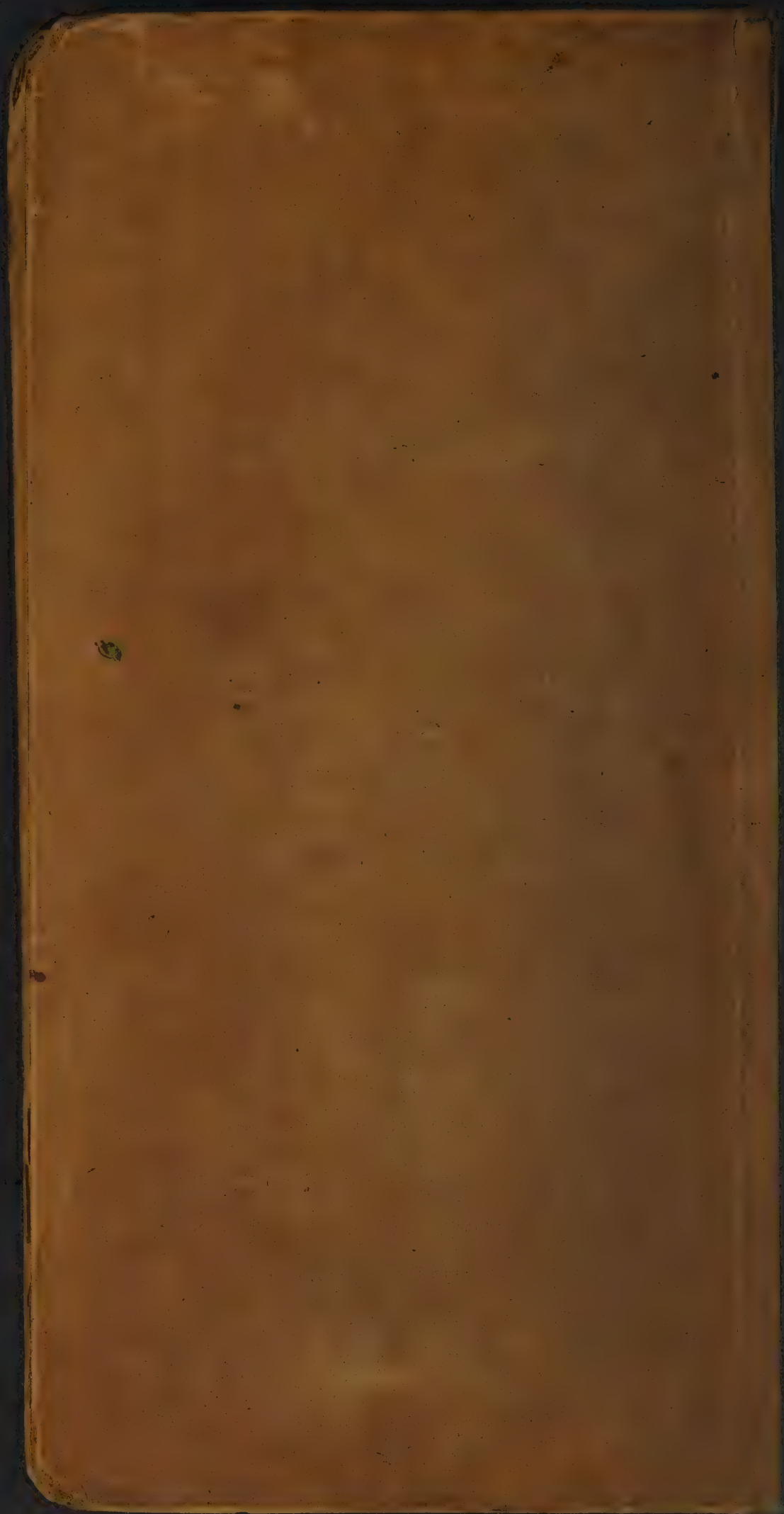
The servants now took away the plates which had been placed upon the sideboard, whilst Doña Juliana, in Quichua, seemed to give particular directions about each of them. I was curious to learn their destination, and, being on a footing of the most friendly intimacy with Doña Juliana and her father confessor, my enquiry was answered—"to be given to the poor." Every day in the year, at two o'clock, several poor persons attended at the house of *La buena Cristiana*, and took their seats upon the staircase; some of them, aware no doubt of the lenient disposition of their benefactress, encroached even to the door of the dining room, where a scene rather unusual to a European, certainly to an Englishman, and one

of interesting curiosity too, was daily to be seen,—that of a tribe of beggars, assembled *en société*, in a respectable mansion, eating with silver spoons, out of silver plates and dishes, without any watch over the property, or even a suspicion of its being likely to be missing. In mentioning this daily charitable distribution—happy contrast to “the crumbs from the rich man’s table!”—I must not forget to remark, that the reserved portions of sweetmeats were for the children who accompanied their parents; a trifling observation, perhaps, but it has its weight in describing the character of the venerable Lady Bountiful of Potosi.

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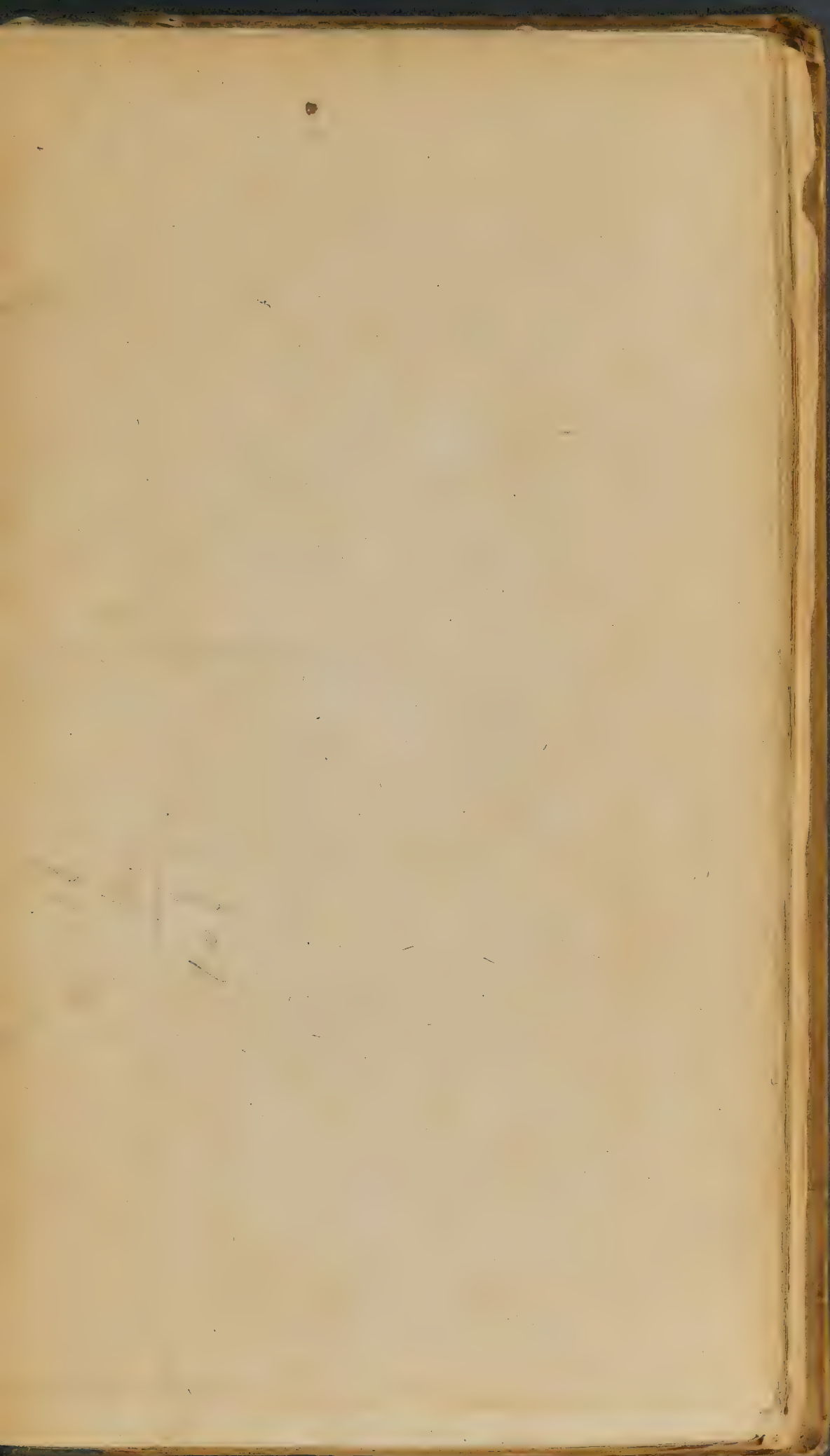


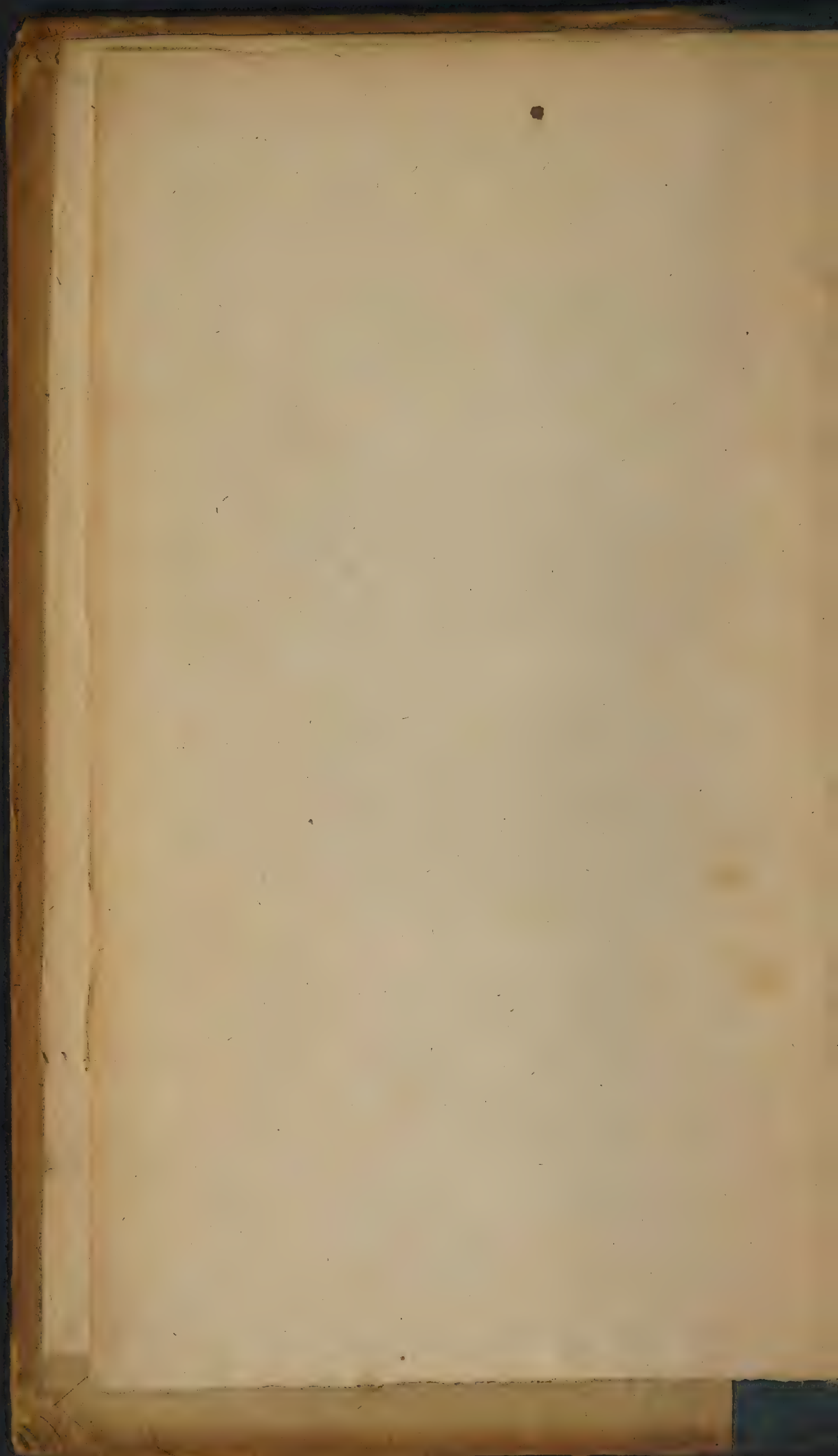
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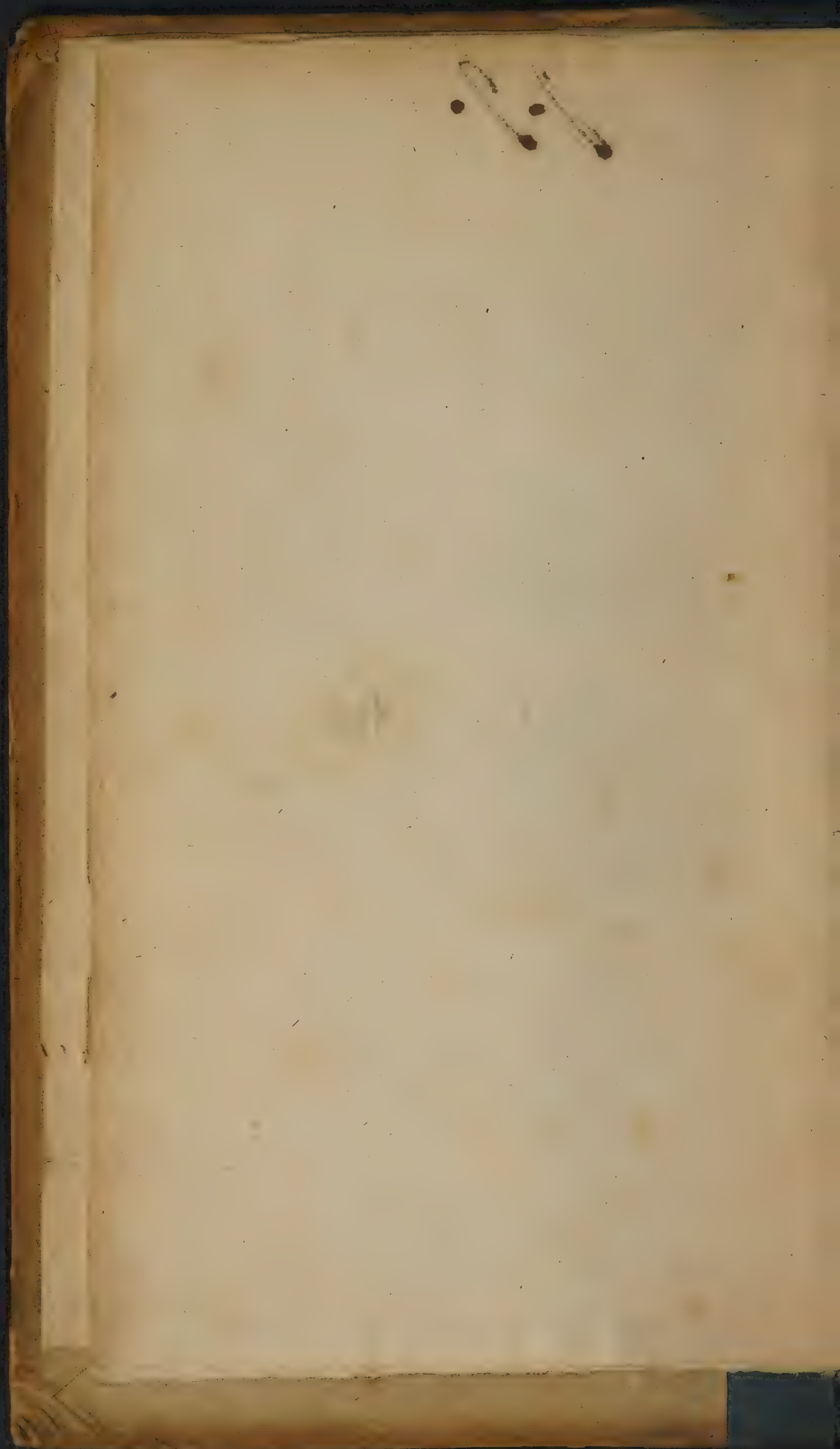
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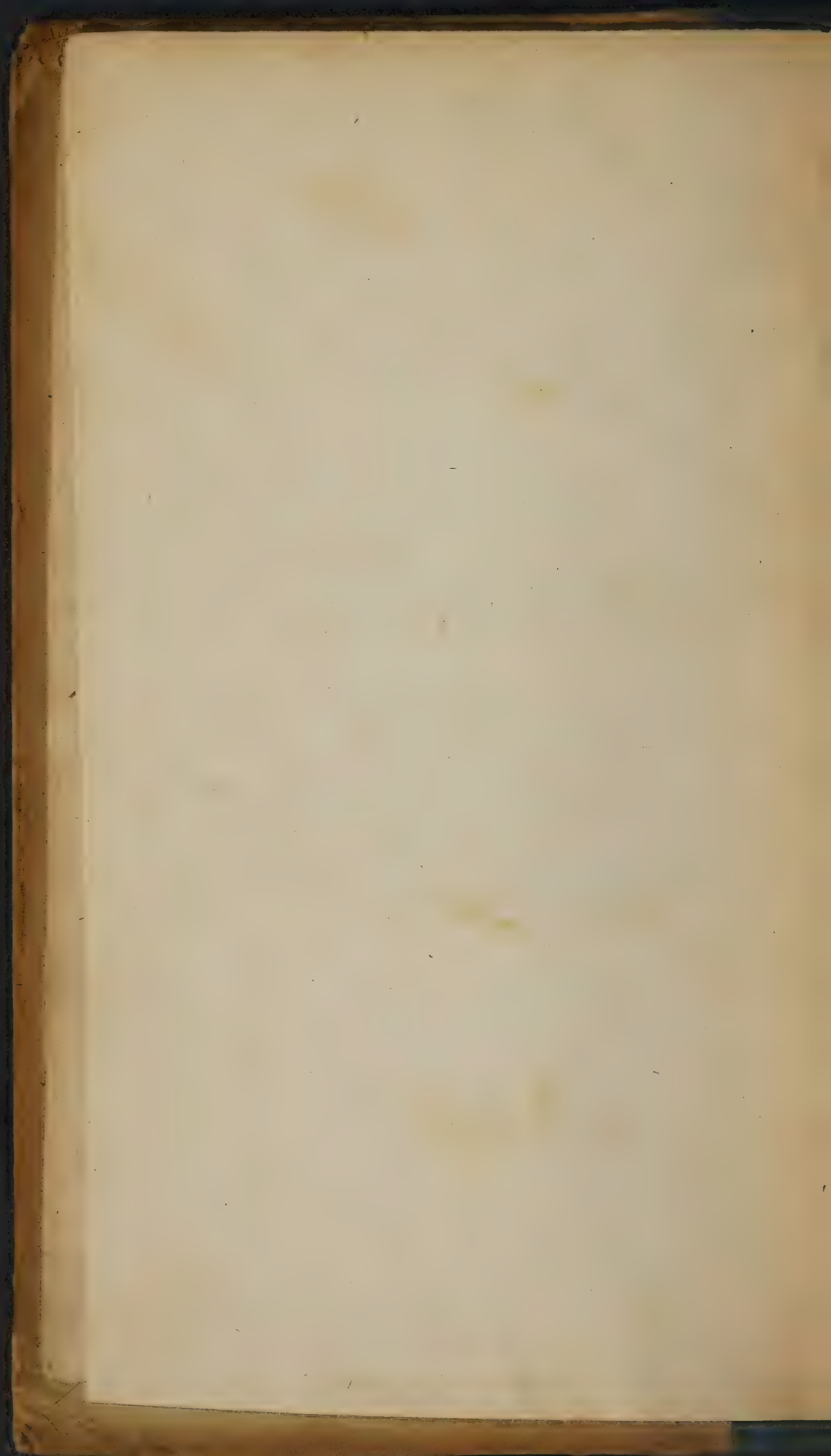
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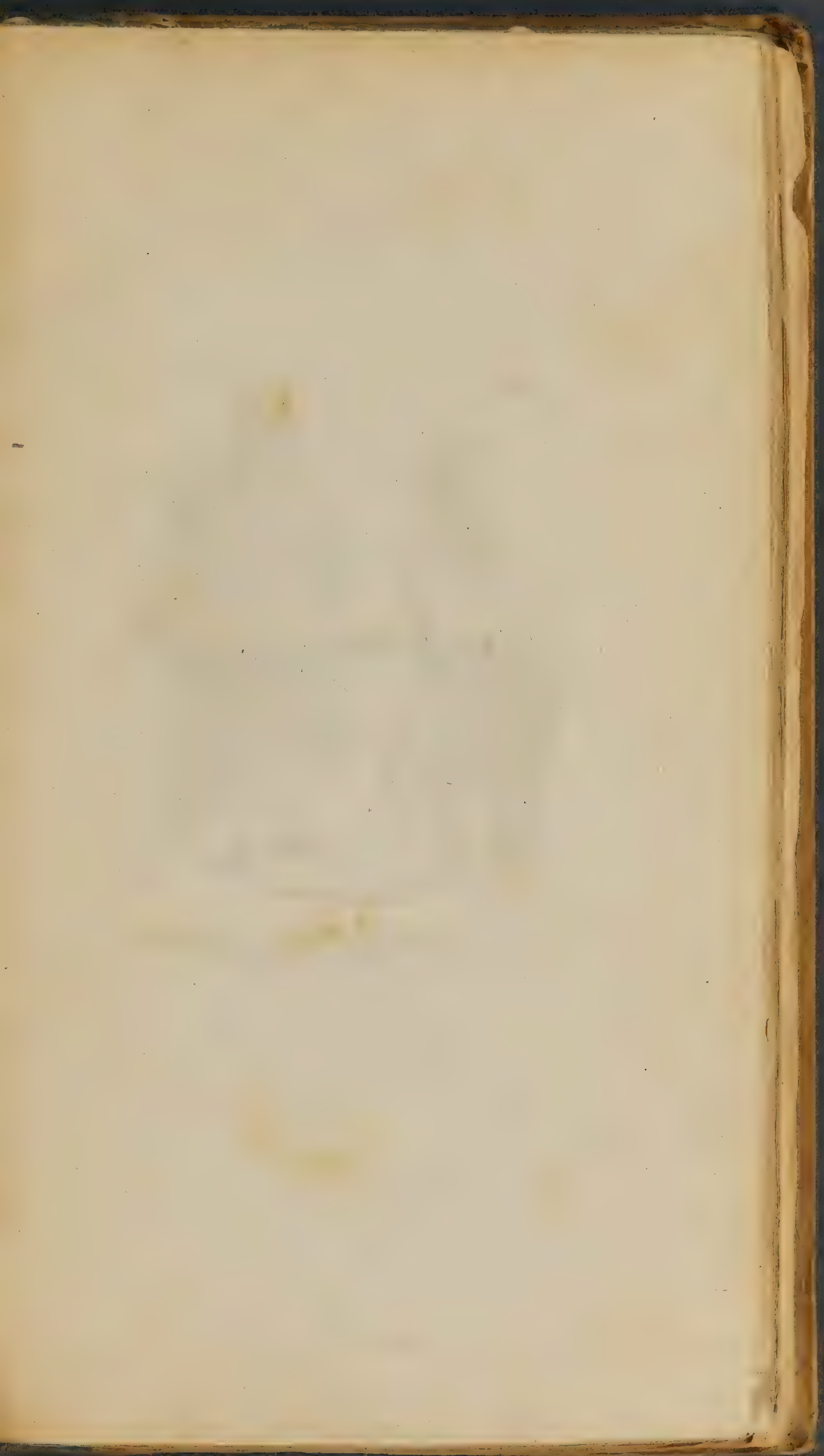


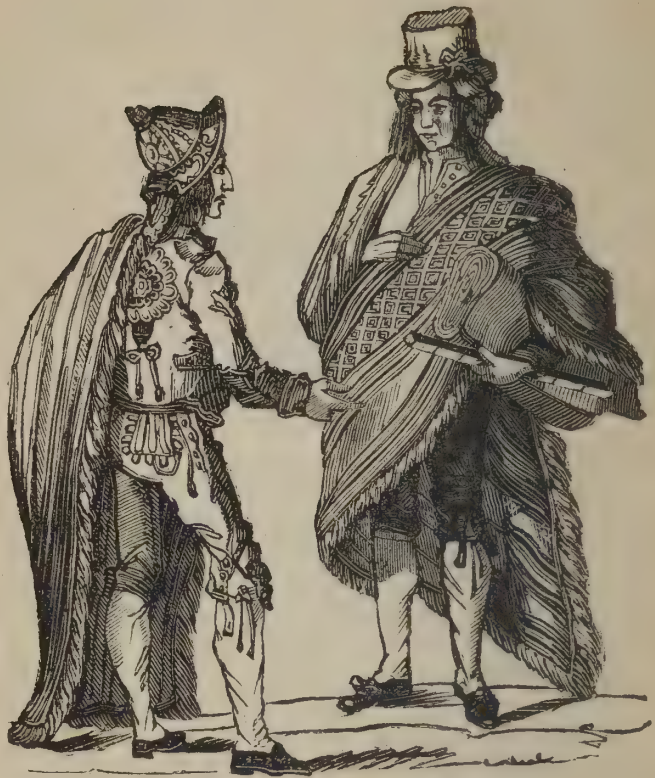


J. J.









AN INDIAN OF POTOSI, IN HIS GALA-DRESS, BARGAINING WITH
A CHOLA OF COSHABAMBA—VOL. II. P. 84.

TRAVELS
IN
VARIOUS PARTS OF PERU,
INCLUDING A YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN
POTOSI.

BY EDMOND TEMPLE,
KNIGHT OF THE ROYAL AND DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF CHARLES III.

"Five advantages thou wilt at least procure by travelling. Thou wilt have pleasure and profit; thou wilt enlarge thy prospect; cultivate thyself; and acquire friends.
Abukir and Abusir."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

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TRAVELS IN PERU.

CHAPTER I.

Departure for Chuquisaca—Unexpected rencontre at a post-house—River Pilcomayo—Hospitable reception at Chuquisaca—Interview with the President—Ladies—Colleges—Clergy—Fleas—A mysterious despatch.

August 8th. Prepared my travelling equipage, and departed for Chuquisaca in company with Don Pedro, a worthy young man, late *alcade-major* (lord mayor) of this city. The object of my journey was to obtain an interview with Sucre, the supreme chief of the government, for the purpose of insuring his protection for the property of the company, in the event of its being seized by Don Felix Castro, of whose intentions to that effect I had received information from Buenos Ayres.

About five leagues from Potosi, to the northward and eastward, is a small hamlet of Indians, called Baños, signifying *baths*, of which there are two or three, possessing admirable medicinal qualities, derived from a copious hot spring, at nearly 90 degrees of Fahrenheit. Numbers of persons resort to this place for the benefit

of health, and sometimes for recreation, but they must convey their own furniture and comforts, there being no other accommodation than the roof of a large building and a *pulperia* (public house), which supplies visitors with provisions and liquors.

In this neighbourhood patches of cultivation are to be seen; the ploughing is performed with a crooked branch of a tree, so contrived that, as it is dragged along by a yoke of oxen, the point scratches two or three inches deep into the ground. This, it appears, is quite sufficient to produce a good crop of barley, which, with a few potatoes and a little maize, is all that is attempted to be grown here, though in Europe there are spots with more ungrateful soil, producing abundance by means of industry. No doubt, many of the vast desert-looking tracts in this country, which serve only for thousands of lamas to range over, interspersed with some few flocks of sheep and goats, might, by cultivation, be rendered equally productive, if the population were such as to require it.

Our first day's journey was ten leagues, to the post of Bartolo, where we stopped for the night, and where, even at this short distance from Potosi, the climate was so very much milder, that I had no occasion for half the quantity of bed-clothes to which I had been latterly accustomed.

9th. A delightfully fine frosty morning, which gradually became an extremely hot day. No one can duly appreciate, without experience, the great comfort of the white *poncho* under the powerful heat of a tropical sun. It completely intercepts the rays, and from its lightness catches the current of air as one rides along, and thereby occasions an agreeable coolness. Ponchos of cloth are much better adapted than any great-coat for keeping out the rain: if they were first worn by a

leader of fashion in England, their use would soon become general, and would certainly be approved.

Some shrubs and a few small trees, which, since my residence at Potosi I had not seen a semblance of, decorated the scenery of this day's journey, which lay over rugged mountains and through valleys, where a solitary Indian hut might here and there be discovered on the edge of a patch of cultivation. Some tracts of pasture, with cattle in good condition, also proved that we were no longer in the region of sterility.

After a ride of ten leagues, we stopped at the post of Terrao, the landlord of which is a wealthy man; but, as is usual throughout this country, the comfort or convenience of the traveller is no more considered at a post house, than that of the dogs who sally forth to challenge him as he approaches. Whilst I was sitting with several Indians in a ring round a fire, occupied in roasting some excellent potatoes, which I had selected from a large heap that had been just brought home, four travellers upon post mules trotted into the court, where a conversation, in a tone and emphasis not unknown to my ear, but at the time and place quite unexpected, commenced between three of them, in these identical words, so loudly uttered that, had my organs of hearing been naturally dull, I must have distinctly comprehended them. "Death an'owns, Pat! here's lots of praties!"—"Ah! den are ye in arenest?"—"Divil a word o' lie in it!"—"Saze some o' them for supper, for I see very well that this cantancrous baste of a mule is going to give me as long a job to get the saddle off as she gave me to put it on:—look at that now! (here the mule kicked and squealed.) Oh! the divil may squeal you!"—"I'll take a hatful o' them any way, Pat." "Do, Christy dear, and put them on the fire." "Mind! have a care of your shins, or that long-eared varmint will be mighty

apt to blacken them for you." "Oh, then, sweet bad luck to her for a mule! for a mule she is, and naughting else but a mule!—See there agin!" said Pat, as he jumped aside to evade the heels of his ticklish animal. It may be unnecessary to say that I availed myself of the first opportunity to gratify my impatience respecting the little history of these travellers, which was related to me by Christopher Donoughoe in the following manner.

"Owen Flaherty and Paddy Curry there, left Ireland mere boys in the year ninety-eight and went off to North Ameriky, and I followed after them shortly, so I did." "But why did you happen to leave your country in the year *ninety-eight*?" said I. "Why, then indeed, to tell you the truth as to that, we didn't like the times, and didn't think the government was using us by any manes well, you see; and, wishing to have our liberty any way, we thought it best to get shut o' them altogether, and so with that we sailed away from Cork to New York, where we soon got work; for, being the whole of us bred to the carpenter's business you see, we made money aisy enough, and so there we stopped, till four years ago, when we thought to better ourselves, and sailed in a ship to Bonusairis, where we got as much work as we plased, and more money than ever we expected, till at last thinking we could do better up the country, we left Bonusairis about two months back and stopped at Salta, where we had a great notion to fix ourselves to plaze one Doctor Redhead, who immadiately indeed got us more work than we could do, but larning that the governor of Chookysacky was carrying on great building in that city, and that he would give any money for artisans such as the likes of us, we thought it a fine time to see the country, and so we took to the post and come on, and here we are, wid the blessin' o' God; and isn't it a rayel pleasure now to meet any body

to spake with in these parts, where there's no understanding one word people say? I larnt, indeed, something of the Spanish in Bonusairis, but the devil o' one bit it's of use to me here, good, bad, or indifferent, for this bates all the languages I ever come across, so it does."

"Pray," said I, "what's your opinion of the country, and the people?"—"Why, indeed, then, as in regard to that, you see yourself that it's wild enough any way; and as for the roads in these parts, with their ups and their downs and their twists and their turns, they're every hair as crooked as the river of Kilcock; but then, after all, there's no *want* of any thing a-body might need to keep himself from starving, and if a man minds his business, and stays at home and looks to himself, do you see there's no fear but he may do well; and, indeed, I dar'n't complain of the people, for though they're lazy enough, they're quiet, kindly cratures, and I never saw any harm in none of them, barring their language, which, as I said before, nobody can make head nor tail of but their ownelves, I suppose: howsever, take it all in all, a-body might go a dale farther and fare worse, so he might, and that's the truth, so it is, is'n't it now, Paddy?"—"Well then, indeed it is," replied Paddy Curry.

"As you passed through Potosi," said I, you must have heard that an English mining company was establishing there; why didn't you enquire if there was work for you?"—"Oh! I hard all about it, and indeed we intinded to stop there, but just as we arrived at the post, this gentleman here," (pointing to a Frenchman who spoke a little English and a little Spanish, travelling in a mercantile capacity,) "was going to mount his mule at the doore, and seeing we were foreigners like himself, I suppose, he saluted us like, and so I took off my hat, and says I, 'A fine day sir,' says I; 'Good-morrow to

you, sir,' says he; 'Good-morrow kindly, sir,' says I.—'Who have you got there?' says Paddy Curry to me, says he; 'Faith! I don't know,' says I; 'but he's a Christian, any way,' says I; and wi' that we got all into conversation like, and I axed him to step in and take a sup. 'Wid all my heart,' says he; 'Come along,' says I, and then it was he tould us he was going on to Chookysacky, and that he knew the road well, and that it was a mighty fine place, and so we thought it a good job to take on with this opportunity, so we did, for we said to ourselves, we might come back again to Potosi, aisy enough, if Chookysacky didn't plase us, and that would be time enough to deliver the letters."

"What letters?" said I.—"Oh! naughting at all, indeed, only a couple of letters of recommendation concerning myself in private;" and taking two letters out of his hat, my surprise may be imagined, when I add, that they proved to be directed to myself. "I am the very person," said I, "that these letters are for!"—"Ah! then are you? well, think o' that now! what crosses there are in this life! who'd a thought of meeting you so promiscuously in such a place as this, above all places in the world?" The letters were, one from a merchant at Buenos Ayres, the other from Doctor Red-head at Salta, recommending the travellers as good carpenters, and sober, industrious men: the latter gentleman mentioned, that Christopher Donoughoe had left with him for safe-keeping nearly a thousand dollars of his earnings.

Whilst I was in the act of reading my letters by the light of a candle stuck against the wall of my apartment, I was interrupted by being suddenly caressed with all the enthusiasm of delight. On leaving Potosi, by some accident my dog Carlo missed following me; but, for seeing him here, and having my apprehensions concern-

ing him relieved, I was indebted to my honest countrymen. "We saw the crature standing his lone by himself, at the corner of the big square, as we passed through Potosi, and we all said to each other, well then isn't that for all the world like an English spaniel? and with that we whistled till him, and he folleed us to the post house as kindly as if he knew us all our lives, and there didn't we give him as good as we had ourselves? for the devil a one bit of a whole shoulder o' mutton that he didn't ate all his own self, and much good may it do him; and then he folleed us a piece out of the town, and we thought it a pity to lave him, and so we flattered him on, and happy I am I brought him safe to your honor; didn't I carry him in my arms before me for as good as five lagues, till the mule fell—bad luck to her! coming down the big hill, and nearly did for us both as I thought: but that's nather here nor there now that you have him safe and sound, and glad I am of it, indeed so I am."—"I am very much obliged to you, Mr. Donoughoe, and now I shall detain you no longer from your good cheer of potatoes, which I dare say you feel eager to attack: good night."—"Good night to your honor."

August 10th. As I travelled with my own horses and peones, I was not at the mercy of those at the post house, by which means I was upon my journey long before the travelling Hibernians were provided with mules. As I advanced, the country became more and more wooded, but I saw nothing that deserved the denomination of timber. We descended a very steep mountain for a distance of four miles into a narrow valley, through which runs the river Pilcomayo, the first tributary stream of the Rio de la Plata, which I here crossed, at not very much less, I should suppose,

than two thousand miles from the mouth of that gigantic river.

M. Humboldt gives the following comparison of some of the great rivers of the new world. "The Amazons, 2940 miles in length; the Mississippi, ascending to the source of Missouri, 2445 miles. The Rio de la Plata, 1590 miles." With all due submission to that great authority, is not this latter river considerably underrated? (presuming it is here meant to trace it to the source of the Pilcomayo.) Its sinuosities are certainly greater than those of the post road from Buenos Ayres to Potosi, which can scarcely be estimated at less than 1650 miles; to this add 200 miles, the distance from Buenos Ayres to the mouth of the river, thereby making the Rio de la Plata, supposing it to run as direct as the post road, more than 250 miles longer than Baron Humboldt considers it. On the other hand, if we trace it to the source of the Paraguay, it measures, "according to the best authorities, 2210 miles,"* thus exceeding by 620 miles the aforesaid measurement of Baron Humboldt.

The scenery that surrounds the place where the Pilcomayo is usually crossed on the Potosi roads is magnificently grand. The valley through which the river runs, is first seen from the top of a stupendous mountain, over which the road is traced, and winds along its steep and wooded side to the base. A cluster of Indian huts may occasionally be seen—

"Imbosom'd high upon the mountain's brow,
Or nodding o'er the stream that glides below;"

their peaceful and industrious inhabitants contributing

* See Map of comparative lengths of the principal Rivers of the World.

from their gardens to the plentiful supply of the market of Chuquisaca with barley, maize, fruit, vegetables, and sundry other necessities. The river spreads from side to side of the valley in the rainy season, when it pours along with a prodigious violence, completely obstructing the passage, but at the present period it is forded without any inconvenience. On arriving at the opposite bank, the road winds up as steep a mountain as that we had just descended, and passes close by a *quinta*, which requires only the exercise of a little taste and ingenuity upon the grounds immediately about it, to make it all that we can imagine of the romantic and the beautiful as connected with a villa residence.

A ride of about two hours through a very thinly inhabited country, with a fruitful, though for the most part an utterly neglected soil, brought us again in view of the valley, which here takes a serpentine form, and displays at every bend of the stream all the various and most striking effects of Nature in her wildest mood.

On approaching Chuquisaca, the first objects that meet the view are the towers that rise from each angle of the cathedral, then the domes and steeples of numerous churches and convents, founded in the by-gone days of ecclesiastical domination. These convey to the mind of the stranger ideas of space and grandeur that vanish upon his entrance into the town, which, however, presents an appearance of neatness, cheerfulness, and respectability, surpassing any other upon the whole line of road from Buenos Ayres to Lima, a distance exceeding a thousand leagues.

Chuquisaca, also called Plata, has till of late years been the residence of an archbishop, who lived here in splendour, and fared sumptuously every day; it was founded by one of Pizarro's officers, after his desolating

conquest of Peru, on the ruins of an ancient Indian town called in the Quichua language, *Choque-Chaka*, or Bridge of Gold, from the treasures of the Incas that are said to have constantly passed through it on their way to Cusco. It is now the capital of the republic of Bolivia, and the archiepiscopal palace has become that of the president.

I did not arrive unprovided with letters of introduction to residents in Chuquisaca, amongst whom the following persons were of most consequence.

Don Juan Bernabe y Madero, minister of finance, a liberal-minded worthy man, a strong advocate for the encouragement of emigrants from Europe, particularly from Ireland. He was lodged in a very humble manner, according to European ideas of the dignity of a minister of state. The house in which he resided was indeed sufficiently spacious for any rank and pomp, but Don Juan occupied only two small rooms, out of the best of which he removed for the purpose of accommodating me, which he did in the kindest manner, lending me a table and chair, and making me in every respect as comfortable as his scanty supply of furniture would admit of: a negro slave slept upon a rug at his door in the corridor, and lit his candle when he came home at night from the government house, where he lived with the president, and where he held his office. Señor Madero, who is an old Spaniard, had considerable property in those richly laden Spanish frigates, that were attacked by English cruisers on their passage to Cadiz in 1803, and blown up with several millions of dollars; and as the British government, which I am inclined to think is not generally known, compensated all persons who had private property in those frigates, Señor Madero received his share, from which act of justice he

has formed the highest opinion of the honour and integrity of the British nation.

Don Jacundo Infante, a Spaniard by birth, and originally in the military service of Spain, now a colonel in the Colombian army, and minister of the interior in this republic, a young man of undeniable talents and considerable ability as a speaker in the congress, where he leads the ministerial party. He received me with much civility, expressed strong hopes that our speculation would prove successful, and offered his services in whatever way they might be thought useful.

Don Francisco Medeiros, minister of the supreme court of justice, a generous and liberal-minded man.

The Reverend Don Julian José de Urreta, *penitenciario*, and canon of the cathedral, another liberal-minded, friendly, good fellow; in personal appearance precisely Don Quixote, and possessing all his good qualities.

Don Nicolas Leon, deacon of the cathedral, who obligingly showed me the curiosities, and all that remained of the immense riches in plate and jewels, which, before the revolution, were possessed by the cathedral of Chuquisaca.

Señora Doña Petrona Cañete, a lady of good family and once of wealth, who sent her servant to receive my linen for washing, and, if requisite, *para componerla* (to repair it): a little act, independently of its convenience, sufficient to prove her wish to oblige a stranger.

Don Marcelino Antonio Peñaranda, advocate of the supreme court of justice, whose character gave me cause to regret that I had not an opportunity of making his acquaintance.

Don José Frias, a merchant, of one of the most extensive and respectable firms in South America, who, upon my presenting my letter of introduction, received

me like a brother. A place was assigned to me at the head of his table with unceremonious hospitality; my peones, horses, and mules, were equally well disposed of in his large establishment. I can never think of the kindness I experienced from Don Pepé, (the familiar term for Joseph,) without the warmest sentiments of friendship towards him. This kindness was doubly important in a town where no hotel, no house of public accommodation of any kind, is to be found—a proof of the slight intercourse of strangers, who, when any happen to arrive, are generally furnished with a letter of introduction, which obtains for them a corner where to spread their saddle cloths, as I before had occasion to mention, and an invitation to the family table to partake of the *sopa* and *pochera*.

When I called at the palace to wait upon the president, I was not a little surprised at seeing in the apartments many luxurious articles of furniture, the manufacture of London and Paris; the walls also were hung with a profusion of French prints from Marmontel's story of the Incas of Peru, and from Chateaubriand's favourite little tale of Atala, with sundry portraits of Bonaparte's distinguished generals. Sucre received me in a very friendly manner. I informed him of the protest of our chief commissioner's draft, and with deep mortification admitted the discredit into which it had thrown us, but expressed my belief that all just claims would be speedily satisfied. Sucre remarked, that it appeared a strange proceeding, for a *compania de comerciantes de la Gran Britania* to send so large an establishment into a foreign country, so far from home, upon so expensive a speculation as that of mining, not only without funds and without any arrangement to obtain them, but apparently without even any intention of supplying them. "I know not," continued he, good-hu-

mouredly, "on which side folly is most glaring, or which party is most to blame,—whether those who raised and despatched this expedition without money, or those who embarked in it, and left their homes without considering how they were to be supported, much less how they were to carry their gigantic plans into effect! *Los senores Ingleses* must have been reading the history of El Dorado with a little more credulity than it deserves, if they imagined that the precious metals were to be obtained without labour and expense; for, although it is true that they abound in this country, they cannot be had for *nothing*, any more than the materials of which we build our houses."

Thinks I to myself, (and it was the first time the thought struck me) the president is right; for even the stones with which streets are paved, I take it, are not obtained without labour, and labour requires money. What a happy circumstance would it have been for many persons, had some really clever fellow explained this little matter to the directors of the Potosi, La Paz, and Peruvian Mining Association!

My conversation with the president ended by his giving me every encouragement to follow up the speculation, which he had been led to understand must, under proper management, prove successful; but, on assuring me of every protection in his power, he candidly observed, that with respect to protested bills, or claims such as Don Felix Castro was about to make, the laws were already established and the executive could not interfere, but that there was no reason to doubt the impartial distribution of justice, which the president presumed was all I required. I thought the presumption reasonable enough, but somehow or other, in my zeal, I expected *more* than justice on my side, for I

considered it very hard indeed that Don Felix Castro should make a piece of work about a few thousand dollars, which he had advanced on the credit of a company of gentlemen, who had set forth to the world in the prospectus of their association, that they had a capital of "*One million pounds sterling*," with a clause that "it might be *increased* if deemed advisable." This, I imagined, ought to satisfy any reasonable person; but there are some persons never satisfied, and Don Felix Castro may be one of these; he seems not to care one farthing about our *printed* million, although it is mentioned in three different places in our prospectus: what he wants and insists upon, is his *own* hard cash back again—*que verguenza!* (what a shame!)

The President Sucre is in appearance about thirty-eight years of age, tall and thin, with mild prepossessing manner and diffident address; he is a man of talent, liked by all who desire the good of the country, and, in the existing state of things, he is certainly the best choice that could have been made to fill the arduous, troublesome, and thankless office of supreme chief of the new republic of Bolivia. Sucre keeps up no state beyond a good table; I have seen him walk in, uninvited, to the evening *tertulias* without the least ceremony, and join in all the little trifling of familiar conversation, without restraint upon himself or imposing it upon others. He is very desirous of acquiring the English language, and Colonel O'Connor, who has been his friendly instructor, told me that his progress was exceedingly quick, and that it was his maxim never to give up a point or pass over a sentence until he thoroughly understood it.

Having just mentioned the name of a very distinguished officer in the patriot service of South America—one who, in her great cause, has fought through the

"war of death,"* from its sanguinary commencement to its triumphant close; who, by his valour and abilities as a soldier, has reaped unfading honours, and by his conduct and acquirements as a gentleman has gained universal esteem: it is with a degree of pride and satisfaction that I here mention that person as my most intimate friend. We are told from high authority—sacred authority, I believe—that "all men are naturally deceitful." Coming from such a source I dare not contradict the humiliating censure, but I do not apprehend that the "Accusing Spirit" will record as a crime my asserting, that all those virtues which usually distinguish sincerity and uprightness of mind are conspicuously marked in the life and conduct of Colonel Francis Burdett O'Connor.

In visiting the churches and convents of this city, I saw, amongst several neglected paintings, some few fine ones that had been introduced from Spain and Italy by the Jesuits. I procured a Magdalene, painted upon panel, of the school of Pietro Perugino, or Andrea del Sarto. Be it which it may, or be it neither, a more sweet and placid countenance never was designed with greater truth in giving expression to the saintly mind. The beholder feels assured—

"That God and goodness is her meditation."

Neither did a prettier foot ever grace a lovely female form, than that which the painter has represented here, in the full perfection of his enchanting art.

I also procured a set of paintings on religious subjects by the Indians of Cusco, who are celebrated for their ingenuity in painting. They imitate the finest colouring, particularly of the flesh, with wonderful exactness; but, considering they have had no school nor competent in-

* *Guerra de muerte* was the term by which one sanguinary period of the revolutionary war was designated.

struction, it cannot surprise that their faces, though generally very pretty, are always without character or expression. In their drapery, they exercise their own fancy, which they imagine (and no doubt it suits the taste of their customers) is the more to be admired the more costly the performance; and under this impression, we find the robes of the Virgin, of Joseph, and of all favourite saints, profusely covered with shining gold and silver, so elaborately executed, as to be capable of exciting the envy of the most ingenious Chinese that ever painted the full-dress robe of a mandarin.

The Indians of Cusco are likewise famed for making (of alabaster, I believe) little figures and dolls of great beauty, very superior to any articles of the kind made in Europe. These meet, or rather used to meet, with a ready sale for churches, chapels, convents, and for ornaments of apartments in the houses of rich and poor; but the trade, including that of bulls, rosaries, and crucifixes, is now evidently on the decline. I offered, however, eighty dollars to a person, to whom eighty dollars were an object of consideration, for one of those dolls of Cusco, but I doubt if I could have prevailed upon the owner to part with it for thrice the sum, not on account of its intrinsic value, though that was something, but on account of its sacred consequence as the "household God." It represented the infant Saviour naked, sitting in the lap of another doll, representing the virgin Mother; the hair of the head and eyebrows were formed of native capillary silver, and the nails of the fingers and toes were represented in gold.

I visited the very handsome hall of the congress during the sitting of the deputies, and heard in the noble Castilian tongue several flights of eloquence on the *new* and important subject of civil and religious liberty, which was discussed with great liberality, even by many

of the clergy. The custom of remaining seated during the whole of the debate, even while speaking, has a peculiarly awkward appearance, and the constant practice of spitting is a breach of decorum which no Englishman can patiently witness.

The ladies of Chuquisaca are celebrated for their affability to strangers; that they are deservedly so, I had sundry opportunities of knowing, during my agreeable residence among them. Their dispositions, like those of the South American ladies in general, have been justly defined as being a happy medium between French vivacity and English reserve. Their faces are handsome and their figures good: their carriage, like "Spain's dark-glancing daughters" from whom they descend, is easy, genteel, and graceful, without any of that *air maniéré*, so much studied by the French ladies, or any of that *want* of air and grace so conspicuous in our own.

In the evening, many "black-eyed maids" may be seen displaying their neatly-turned ankles on the promenade, where, in brilliancy of *costume*, they resemble the fashionables of the Tuileries, whose dress is now beginning to be generally worn, and its periodical changes regularly received from Buenos Ayres, where many French *marchandes de modes* have flourishing establishments. At church, or in religious processions, that becoming Spanish dress, the *basquiña*, is still continued, and the fan, a plaything very adroitly used and kept in perpetual motion, is a never-failing accompaniment.

After the promenade, *tertulias* take place, to which strangers may go uninvited, assured of a cordial reception. The conversation will be found quite as *spirituel*, and to the full as profound, as conversations generally are at any other routs or assemblies, not excepting even those of the highest circles in the most enlightened capitals of Europe. I entertain no apprehension of this be-

ing considered *excessive* praise; for what is there to praise in the general conversation of any of our fashionable parties?

But, although I consider the conversation in South American *tertulias* as lively and interesting as general conversation in European assemblies, I by no means overlook the sterling merits of my fair countrywomen, whose superior mental accomplishments, and, take them all in all, their superior personal charms, place them, beyond all comparison in the universe, pre-eminent.

The free and courteous manners of the South American ladies have induced some travellers hastily to conclude that these are open invitations to flirtation and uncereemonious familiarity; but it is well known how prone men are to interpret as advances to themselves the slightest unguarded expression or incautious action of a female, although, at the time, her every inward thought may be pure as the snowy fleece from heaven. I am bound in candour to say thus much, because I myself have sometimes presumed to think a lady's condescension love, and have kissed with impassioned delight the friendly proffered hand of her who would never suffer me to touch her lips. I do not, however, mean to hold the shield of purity over the whole of South America, or to maintain that her daughters differ from those of other climes.

The morning costume of the South American ladies, when at home, generally speaking, is precisely that worn in Spain, (perhaps I might add in France and the whole continent,) a slovenly dishabille on a slattern person, which to an Englishman is altogether revolting; he cannot reconcile himself, when on a morning visit, to meeting in the saloon a party of ladies, no matter how handsome, with hair tossed and tumbled, or stuck round with a *chevaux-de-frize* of *papillottes*. If his eyes bash-

fully sink from the view, they are met at the other extremity by old shoes worn into shabby slippers, down at heel, and exposing manifold wrinkles in the neglected stockings. If the shawl, long discarded from ornamental dress, and now serving only as a morning wrapper, happens to escape the grasp with which it is held in front by fingers sometimes tipped with ebony, or should slip accidentally from the shoulders, the absence of stays betrays the loose and defenceless state of the person, and perchance exposes the necessity of a change of linen. Huddled in a corner of an unfurnished apartment, and sitting somewhat in the eastern style on small square rugs spread on the ground, or upon a kind of stage raised a few inches above it, they pass the live-long day generally without any occupation, though needlework in some places is carried to perfection, but "that sweetest of all human enjoyments," books, is never seen. This state of slovenliness, indolence, and *ennui*, lasts till evening, when a stranger is astonished at the metamorphosis which takes place; not more surprising is the transformation of the chrysalis from its torpid, unsightly state, to that of the gay butterfly sporting in the air, "rivalling the flight of birds and the brilliancy of the peacock." Both young and old then sally forth in costume elegant and becoming, sometimes too *plus elegante que modeste*—then indeed is every stocking braced up with scrupulous tightness for the public promenade, where many an admiring eye is attracted to the taper limb, that displays itself with so much grace in that "stately elegance of walk" for which the whole race of Spanish ladies are unrivalled.

How delighting and delightful it is to observe one of these lovely creatures, pacing in triumphant majesty on the promenade, particularly when attired in the silken *basquina y mantilla*, which at every gesture exhibits

the line of beauty in pleasing and palpable symmetry. Then, again, those charming little pedestals, the feet! We need not, if we could, describe the interest and intelligence that reside in a pretty foot. It is full of sense and meaning, and speaks unutterable things.

Before I left Chuquisaca, I had the pleasure of learning from my friend Colonel O'Connor, that he had obtained employment at high wages for Christopher Donoughoe, Owen Flaherty, and Paddy Curry, whom he engaged to assist in the busy work of converting a spacious convent into a college of arts and sciences, which, when complete, will perhaps be considered the fairest monument that could have been erected to record the liberality and good judgment of the first free government that has ruled this country.

There is already a college at Chuquisaca, of which the principal is a dignitary of the cathedral, Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, a man of acknowledged abilities as a scholar; and perhaps it is of greater importance to the rising generation under his tuition that he is also a man of tolerant principles, and an encourager of liberal ideas, which seems to promise that the genius and talent of youth will be turned to a better account than when confined, as heretofore, within the narrow limits of a monastic education.

The ministers of religion, who have hitherto ruled with an uncontrollable authority, have in part voluntarily renounced and in part been very unceremoniously stripped of the power which, as a body, they so unbecomingly usurped, and in many instances so disadvantageously exercised in all the excess of austerity and rigour. Their capricious tyranny has ended with that of the government which supported it.

To deny that abuses still exist would be to deny the darkness of night; but the fanaticism of religion has assur-

edly ceased to have either dominion or support. The clergy are no where considered, as certain declaimers in their zeal have imagined them to be, haughty, inexorable despots. They are received in society, as they are justly entitled to be, "with all gladness" as companions, and are every where respected as friends "worthy of double honours." Friendly, indeed, I have ever found them in this and every other country in which I have travelled where their influence extends, and Englishmen of every denomination must in gratitude acknowledge as much: they must own also, after a little travelling and mixing with foreign society, that our own prejudices, whether as a nation or a sect, soon appear to us as unworthy, inveterate, and unjust, as those of any other under the sun; they will admit that no set of men in their private character have been so injuriously aspersed by the cankered tongue of slander as the Roman Catholic priesthood, among whom are to be found as many and as bright examples of piety, benevolence, and all goodness, as in any other class of the community. And with reference to past ages, we may name characters to equal, no doubt, but certainly not to surpass, those of Las Casas, Francis de Sales, Fenelon, Massillon, Bossuet, and a host of others equally eminent and revered, who adorned their own times, and live in the admiration of the present. But, in spite of all the abuses that exist in the moral, religious, and political state of this hemisphere—and in what country do abuses *not* exist?—in spite of all the clouds of darkness that remain and may continue to linger on this horizon, yet through them may be seen in the distance, what never appeared before, a perspective of improvement, of liberal feeling, of happiness, and (according to the destinies of nations) of awaiting glory; these, the

legitimate offspring of freedom, though yet but young, cannot fail to grow with the growth of the parent. Liberty, deplorably violated as her sacred character has been, has nevertheless infused a spirit into all the institutions of the country, the benefits of which are already felt; but the greatest of all benefits immediately arising from Spanish emancipation, and that from which every other improvement must follow, is the diffusion of knowledge by means of public instruction.

19th. Left Chuquisaca, well pleased with my visit, and with every person in public and private life with whom I had had communication. On the 21st I arrived at Potosi, where I was particularly struck with the luxury of enjoying in quiet the individual possession of my bed—a circumstance really too important to be passed over without apprising future travellers of the comfort that awaits them here, after a visit to the gay little city of Chuquisaca; and, if they happen to be in that state of life called “bachelorship,” they cannot fail, from the moment the candle is extinguished, on stepping into bed at Potosi, to congratulate themselves on the enviable lot of “single blessedness.” Know, then, that the delightful climate of Chuquisaca attracts, not only all the fashionables of the republic of Bolivia to reside in the capital, but it also encourages to a degree of intolerable excess the breed of—fleas. These tormentors infest every house in Chuquisaca, and persons unaccustomed to them need not think of going to bed if repose be the object. In Potosí, the temperature is unfavourable to insects and reptiles of every sort, save and except one particular kind, against which common cleanliness is a sufficient guard, but for which the Indians have a most extraordinary *taste*, as they actually dispose of them as monkeys do when they

catch them on examining each other. I have frequently heard the Potosinos remark, that when they went for any short time to Chuquisaca, they never enjoyed sleep until their return home, a remark which I have recently had an opportunity of knowing to be strictly true.

September 3d. I have this day received a despatch from our directors in London; the contents of which forcibly remind me of the saying of the sage: "A house divided against itself must fall!"

The subject was as follows:—

"A difference has arisen between the three directors who signed the charter of the ship Potosi and the other directors. The former call upon the latter to indemnify them against any consequences under their liability as charterers; which the other directors decline doing, until the former have paid up the call upon all their reserved shares, pursuant to a resolution of a board: this the charterers have thought proper not to accede to, and have intimated their intention to send out powers to seize the cargo of the ship, as the surest mode of protecting their own interests."

This communication appeared to me to be enveloped in a prodigious deal of mystery. The directors desire, that "*the disclosure* be considered as made in *strict confidence*," and confess that they "felt a hesitation" in making it, until they recollected that our chief commissioner was also president of the association.

I have puzzled myself to discover why it was wished to keep *secret* from the shareholders a subject of so much importance, and have at length concluded, that the concealment must be grounded upon that innate modesty which blushes with painful sensibility at the exposure of its meritorious deeds. The directors likewise state, that they "*feel well assured* that every effort will

be exerted by *us* to relieve *them* from their anxious situation of difficulty and embarrassment." This assurance was no more than a feeling of justice due to themselves and to us, and emanated, no doubt, from a well-known precept, which interdicts every sentiment of selfishness, and inculcates none other than the pure principles of truth, honour, and integrity: it is simply this—"Do unto others as thou wouldst, &c." Under this impression, "every effort" on our part *shall* be exerted, and *we* also have a right to *expect*, although we may not *feel well assured, that every effort will be exerted* on the part of the *directors* to relieve *us*, and all their other servants, from *an anxious situation of difficulty and embarrassment*.

I forwarded the despatch to our chief commissioner, brooded for an hour and a half over our misfortune, and then—"Away with melancholy!"

CHAPTER II.

Peruvian Indians—Still subject to ill treatment—Patient and tractable under kind usage—Summary proceeding of a self-constituted judge.

The primitive inhabitants of South America, "improperly called Indians," are of a tawny colour, inclining to red of different shades of brightness; the difference in the shades, arising probably, in a great degree, from the varying temperature of the climate of the country which they inhabit, from the intense heat of the torrid zone to the cold of the vicinage of snow. But in order to present an exact idea of the primitive Americans, almost as many descriptions are requisite as there are na-

tions or tribes; yet, as in Europe, all nations, notwithstanding distinct languages, manners, and customs, have somewhat in common, so do all the Americans present features of resemblance and a similar base of character.*

The Peruvian Indians are a strong, healthy race, and generally laborious, for every kind of labour is performed by them. In Potosi, however, the miners, all Indians, have acquired a character for habits of idleness and a propensity to defraud their employers, which it must be admitted is not altogether without foundation, though I think the causes of the evils complained of may be traced to harsh treatment, or to unwarrantable exactions of some sort, aggression being as frequent on one side as delinquency on the other.

Those who have been so long accustomed to treat this oppressed people as slaves, and have been taught to consider them below the scale of humanity, do not on all occasions recollect, that the severe struggle they have so successfully sustained, in shaking off a galling yoke from their own necks, has also relieved the Indians from theirs, and that, in the eye of the newly-established laws, for which both classes have equally shed their blood, they are now, for the first time, on an equality. The knowledge of these facts has not yet thoroughly subdued old prejudices, and therefore the poor Indians are occasionally exposed to the haughtiness, tyranny, and injustice of ungracious masters.

I know from experience, that by proper management, their faults and the disadvantages arising from them may be guarded against, and in a great degree corrected. A worm, or if it be thought more applicable, the adder, will turn when trod upon, and will then resent the injury: so has it been with these Indians before

* Condamine, Trav. S. America.

now; but, with kind usage, fair remuneration for their services, and an impartial conduct towards them, they are perfectly tractable, and become good, faithful, and willing servants. During my residence at Potosi, I have had occasion to employ many Indians, as well miners as those of other trades and occupations; there is no want of hands, as it has been generally supposed, and I cannot say that I have any cause of complaint against them; they performed the work for which they were engaged to the best of their abilities, and at the completion of it I paid them their hire. Sunday, after the hour of early mass, is the customary time of paying the miners, and all persons employed in the *ingenios*; this practice I did not adhere to, having preferred settling all such matters, so far as I had control, on Saturday evening.

At the appointed hour they assembled in the court before my office, accompanied sometimes by their wives and children, and if I happened to be engaged in any business, (despatching the couriers, for instance, when in the absence or illness of my companions I have been employed many hours of the day "writing against time,") these people would remain, without evincing the slightest impatience, and never approach to ask to be settled with, till called by name as they stood upon the list of the major-domo. They always expressed their thanks when they received their wages, upon which subject we never had the most trifling misunderstanding, and only once upon another, namely, upon the subject of a pick-axe that had been stolen out of our *genio*. It was worth fifteen shillings at Potosi, and might have been worth five in England; but the example, not the value, determined me upon giving a colour of infinite importance to the case. After the depredation had been made known to me, and when the work-

men had assembled to receive their week's wages, two shillings *per diem* each man, I called them all into my office, merely for the sake of exhibiting myself in the highest possible degree of dignity (a clerk never looks so dignified as behind his own counter) and whilst they stood like culprits in humility before me with their hats off, I sat proudly elevated upon my judgment-seat with my hat on, and in my hand a pen, just emblem of my office, it is true, but at the same time calculated to convey terror to the mind of the thief, who knew that, if detected, I should instantly employ it in an application to the alcalde for the infliction of fine and imprisonment. When I had fixed the attention of the party, I commenced the dread inquisition. Alas! many of their forefathers, for crimes of as little note, or even the bare suspicion of them, had been condemned by a more horrible inquisition, and before judges less disposed to render justice and mercy than their present one, although it will appear that even he was obdurately relentless. I put the question—"Who stole my pick-axe?"—dead silence; each looked at each, and all looked at me. "Who stole my pick-axe, I say?" "*Quien sabe?*" said a low voice in the crowd. "*Who knows?*" said I, "why some of you know, and I, too, must know, before I pay you one rial of your wages." I then proceeded to question each individual by name.

"Gregorio Medrano, did you steal the pick-axe?"—"No, Señor."

"Marcelino Guaylla, did you?"—"Yo! no, Señor."

"Bernandino Murquete, did you steal the pick-axe?"—"No, Señor."

"Nepomuceno Mamani, did you?"—"No, Señor."

"Casimiro Chambi, did you?"—"No, Señor." And so on through the whole list, with the same profitless result.

The Indians, like the lower class of Irish, preserve inviolable secrecy respecting their own concerns; an informer is looked upon as a wretch unworthy to live among *honest men*, or if permitted to live is loathed as a demon. Assured, therefore, that I should never succeed in detecting the actual thief, although we all well knew he was one of the party present, I proceeded to judgment upon all of them. "Know then, *hermanos mios*, (dear brothers) that my sentence is *this*, that the major domo do now, immediately, and on the spot, put into his hat as many grains of *mais* as there are of you here present; that those grains shall be all white, save one, which shall be black; and he who draws that black grain shall pay for a new pickaxe." Here consternation became general and evident, but, from the natural darkness of the Indian complexion, it was impossible to discover the delinquent from any change produced on his countenance by the inward workings of his mind. "Now, señor major-domo, shake your hat well—shake it! I say, that no suspicion of partiality may be entertained. Let each man in succession now put his hand in and take one grain of *mais*, then withdraw it, taking care to keep his hand shut, and not to open it until ordered so to do." This being done, they all stood before me with their right arms stretched out at full length, and the hand firmly closed. "Now for the detection of the thief!—Open!—*Que es eso?* (What is all this?) Major-domo! what is the reason of this?" said I, for to my astonishment every hand was empty! "I really don't know, sir, they must have drawn the grains and swallowed them, for not a single one remains in my hat!" said the major-domo, turning his hat mouth downwards to prove that nothing was there. Amazement was at its height; it was evidently a case of *bruxeria* (witchcraft) *mira que demonio!* (the

devil is in the dice.) Juquinito Sambrano observed that it was the miraculous interference of Saint Dimas,* to prove that there was no thief among them. But, notwithstanding my surprise and confusion, I determined that the saint should not keep my pickaxe without paying for it. I desired the major-domo to give me his hat, upon examining which, the *bruxeria* was explained. In obeying my order to "shake the hat well," every grain of maize absconded through a rent in the crown, and the floor being covered with thick straw matting, they fell upon it unheard. We therefore proceeded with more caution to a second drawing, when the black bean appeared, on the show of hands, in that of Basil Calamayo, from whose wages I directed the major-domo to purchase the best pickaxe that could be had in Potosi. From that hour I never heard of any pilfering in either mines or ingenio.

CHAPTER III.

Journey to Oruro—The Devil and Saint Anthony—Desolations of civil war—"All for the best"—Hail storm—Ancient structures of the Indians—Ruins of towns and villages—Reflections on the conquest of Peru—A nocturnal journey—Misery—Oruro—Its former wealth.

September 9th. By the arrival of a person from Oruro, I was informed that our agent in that town, to whom I had sent the late packet from the directors, to be forwarded thence to General Paroissien, had been absent for some time, and that his return was uncertain. As it was of the utmost importance that no delay should attend the

* According to some, the patron of robbers.

delivery of that packet to our chief commissioner, I endeavoured to procure a *propio* (special messenger), but this being a stormy, inclement season of the year, I was unable to do so under the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars, which in the existing state of our affairs I was unwilling, and indeed unable, to disburse. Independently of this circumstance, I held it to be a good maxim, never to do that by another which I could do myself. Moreover, I was determined that the directors should not be deceived in their expectation, that *every effort would be exerted* in their cause. I therefore left Mr. Scriviner in charge of our concerns, and, mounting my sturdy *Tortuga*, accompanied by my servant on *el Cura de Tucuman*, and a peon upon *Marquesa*, a good old mule, with *alforjas* containing bread and cheese, and *chifles* filled with *aguardiente*, I left Potosi in the afternoon, on the journey to Oruro, about two hundred miles distant, which in this country is thought as little of as a ride from Edmonton to Ware.

About a league and a half from Potosi is a very narrow pass, called the *puerto*; the solid rocks rising abruptly on each side to the height of between two and three hundred feet, and in some places inclining so as nearly to touch at the top. The converts to Christianity have induced the Indians to believe that this extraordinary fissure was occasioned by the devil in a contest with Saint Anthony, who, of course, vanquished the former; but the pleasantry of the tale is in accusing the "fallen angel" of a breach of decorum, startling to the Indians themselves even in their unpolished state of society. The arch fiend, say the monks, vexed at finding himself outwitted by the saint, and, when retiring discomfited from his presence, slapped his hand indecorously, and gave vent to his rage with so much violence, as to rend the surrounding mountains and form the exist-

ing chasm! To record this event, the image of the offended Anthony is placed in a niche in the rock on one side of the road, where none pass it without a becoming reverence, and doubtless a due feeling of indignation at the uncourteous insult, for which the downcast look of humility in the countenance of the saint plainly evinces his shame even to this day. Such are the legends of religionists, who at one time held the sway over these people and over all the civilised world!

I had imagined that, in the distance I had already travelled in Peru, I must have seen every description and shape of rock and mountain in existence; but, as I journeyed on, the new and extraordinary scenery that displayed itself at every turn, reminded me that the variety of nature's marvellous works is endless, and the fund of her invention inexhaustible. On this day's journey, of ten leagues, to the romantically situated Indian village of Yocalla, I saw rocks and mountains of more curious appearance and of more fantastic form than any I had yet observed. Upon the sides of some of the mountains were the remains of walls, built in regular stages round them from their base to their summits, forming terraces on which, or between which, the Indians in days of yore cultivated their crops; but where these signs of former population and industry are to be seen, all is now desolate, and no human habitation exists in their neighbourhood.

10th. On the plains and in the valleys I saw immense flocks of llamas with their young: these animals as you pass near them, face towards you, raise their stately necks, point their ears, and examine you with their fine large eyes in a most inquisitive manner; but if you approach them they retreat, the sudden movement of one setting the whole flock in motion, as is usual with sheep. I also saw *vicuñas* and *guanacos*, (a variety of the llama, ap-

proaching to the deer,) in greater numbers than heretofore; the wild shrill bleat or neighing of these handsome animals, when they perceive a stranger, has a peculiarly striking effect in these vast regions of solitude and silence. During the whole of this day's journey, which, from the time it occupied, could not be less than forty-five miles, I did not meet with a single human being, but occasionally I saw to the right and left of my road many deserted dwellings of Indians. The ride was extremely wearisome, owing to the continual ascent and descent of rugged mountains, and where I stopped for the night, which set in very cold, I considered myself fortunate in finding a cover from the weather in the hut of a family of Indians, who had recently returned to their ruined village, and were now actually its only inhabitants.

Lagunillas, situated in a valley under rocky mountains of colossal magnitude, was lately a village of sufficient consideration to possess a church. But neither church nor cottage is spared in the indiscriminating ravages of civil war. Here every thing was utterly destroyed, every house unroofed and pulled down by troops in their passage, either from a diabolical pleasure in mischief, or for the convenience of fuel, into which all the combustible materials had been converted. In civil war, it must be observed, a country suffers nearly as much from friends as foes. Fire and sword, it is true, do not accompany the acts of the former, but still many injuries are inflicted by the troops even of the best disciplined armies; besides this, provisions, necessaries, and contributions, are sometimes levied upon the inhabitants in as unsparing, and often in as summary a manner, by friends as by enemies.

It may be unnecessary to remark, that "good entertainment for man and horse" was not to be had at Lagunillas; though, to my very agreeable surprise, an Indian

procured some barley straw for my animals, a luxury not always to be obtained for them among the mountains of Peru. I know not how some English amateurs would like to perform forty or fifty miles a day, with their own horses, upon such provender; and yet, indifferent as it is, it occasions to us here a feeling of true delight when we find that it can be had where we stop to rest.

For the sake of celerity on my journey, I had not encumbered myself with bed or bedding; I therefore spread my saddle-cloths *à la Gauchó* upon the floor of the hut, on which the family, consisting of two or three generations, had no little difficulty in finding space when stowing themselves in bulk for the night.

11th. In consequence of feeling it extremely cold, I disturbed my peon earlier than he wished, and on mounting my horse, found the country covered with snow, which had fallen heavily during the night. I procured a guide, who, for three pence per league, the established rate, trotted before the horses, and performed a post of thirteen or fourteen miles with great ease under three hours. After baiting, I continued my journey, the road being considerably better than usual, from its lying through a valley, which, according to Helms, extends with little variation above six hundred miles to Cusco. The day, besides being piercingly cold, was dismally unpleasant, and ended in a violent hail storm, which overtook me when about ten miles from the post of Anacato. The thunder was tremendous, and, in reverberating from the mountains, the effects were such as to frighten even the native condor from his aerial abode; for several of those gigantic birds descended into the valley, as if cowering from the storm, and, in their impetuous sweep along the surface of the earth, approached

much nearer to us than is usual to their naturally wary disposition.

I observed for the first time flocks of alpacos, another species of the lama, but somewhat smaller, and with longer and infinitely finer wool; they are of various colours, but chiefly jet black.

I arrived at the post hut of Ancacato just as night came on, bringing with it increase of hail, snow, and storm. Here I procured good barley straw for my animals, which reconciled me to finding *nothing* for myself.

12th. I was on horseback long before daylight, and rode ten leagues before breakfast. The morning was bitterly cold, the road not very bad, but intersected by several streams.

On an immense plain, bounded on my left by the Cordilleras, I passed a row of ancient, mud-built structures, which at a distance had the appearance of Martello towers. They are said to have been the sepulchres of Indian chiefs before the conquest; the walls of some of them were nearly perfect, which may convey an idea of the durability of the *adobes*, a sun-dried compost of mud and strong grass, with which they are constructed, having stood for centuries without any symptom of decay from the injuries of time or weather. The only aperture in the walls is a very small door way, made low, in order, it is recorded, that the abode might never be entered but in the posture of humility or veneration. Rings and sundry other articles of gold, also pottery of very curious and ingenious workmanship, have frequently been discovered buried within these structures.

In the course of this day's journey were to be seen, in well-chosen spots, many Indian villages and detached dwellings, for the most part in ruins. Up even to

the very tops of the mountains, that line the valleys through which I have passed, I observed many ancient ruins, attesting a former population where now all is desolate. Remains of a similar kind are to be seen in Spain, in proof of a vast and industrious population in the time of the Moors, when that fine country rivalled in prosperity the most flourishing in Europe.

In flying before the patriots of South America, the royal armies consumed by fire whatever they could not destroy by the sword. The unoffending inhabitants who escaped death fled from their villages to distant parts of the country, and did not again return; leaving their dismantled abodes to record the downfall of the dominion of Spain, as their ancestors had been compelled to do, on occasion of their conquest, under similar calamities, three centuries before. The Spaniards have taken their leave of Peru, in repeating that tragedy of desolation which, as historians, tradition, and remains, assure us, was every where performed on their taking possession of it. Unrelenting slaughter and indiscriminate destruction marked the progress of Spanish conquest, and the ruins of towns and villages in the present day are mournful evidence that similar acts have signalised their defeat.

The traveller, as he journeys along, may imagine, in combining the past with the present, that he is pursuing the track of an Attila, a Zingis, or a Tamerlane, who have been represented, like the deluge, the tornado, and the hurricane, to have involved every thing in one sweeping ruin. "*Before them, the land was as the garden of Eden; behind them, as the desolate wilderness.*"

It would be an endless task to record the various relations I have heard from these people on the subject of their disasters at different periods of the war of independence. Often, after a day's journey, have I joined

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the circle round a fire, in the middle of some remaining apartment of a ruined dwelling, and there, seated upon the skull of an ox, listened with infinite interest to the descriptions of scenes of woe which the parties present had witnessed or suffered in. So naturally do they relate their plain unvarnished tale, as to excite in the listener a sympathy deeply partaking of the secret pleasure which they themselves evidently feel in recording the evils they have endured: so true it is, that a secret pleasure does attend the reflection upon days of sorrow that are past.

With respect to the histories of the early period of this country, the traveller meets with many circumstances to induce him to forego the doubts, which he naturally feels disposed to entertain upon those revolting accounts of rapine and cruelty given by every writer, of whatever country he may have been, on the subject of the conquest of the New World. It is difficult to suppose, and repugnant to the feelings of humanity to believe, that the subjection of the empires of Mexico and Peru was achieved by the sacrifice of thirty millions of the natives! But our incredulity is overcome, when we reflect on the numberless instances of persecution, atrocity, and bloodshed, perpetrated in that same age by the authorities of Spain in her dominions *at home*, surrounded by Christian kings, princes, and potentates;—when we consider the number of victims that were sacrificed in Spain alone to the iniquitous decrees of that tribunal, termed the “Council of Blood,” which exceeded in cruelty the most barbarous institutions of the most savage tyrants in the heathen world, and the acts of which would be incredible, if the many circumstances recorded by contemporary historians, and supported by subsequent Spanish writers, did not place them beyond all doubt. It is from them we learn that more than five

millions of inhabitants, including the expelled Jews and Moors, were swept from the soil of Spain during the terrible ministry of the "Holy Office." In the reigns of Charles V. and his son Philip II. five thousand three hundred and ten persons were burned alive in *autos de fé*, and those condemned to the galleys and to prison within the same period, exceeded twenty-five thousand. These were the number condemned in the Peninsula *alone*, but, as the historian remarks, if we add those of other countries subject to the Inquisition of Spain, such as Sicily, Sardinia, Flanders, America, and the Indies, we must feel absolutely horror-struck at the number of victims.*

But, being more to our immediate purpose to show the conduct of the *generals* and *armies* of Spain in her distant possessions, in that same age in which we are speaking, let us turn our view to the Netherlands under the government of the atrocious duke of Alva, and we shall there behold one continued scene of confiscation, imprisonment and death; we shall find, that within the space of a few months, upwards of eighteen hundred persons, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, suffered by the hand of the executioner *alone*: yet the duke of Alva's thirst of blood was not satiated. His soldiers, like so many wolves, were let loose among the people, who saw that nothing less would satisfy their governor than their utter ruin; and, under this consideration, some historians relate, that no less than a hundred thousand houses were forsaken by the inhabitants. It is however certain, that several of the principalities were sensibly thinner, and some whole villages and smaller towns were rendered almost desolate.†

* See Historia de la Inquisicion d'Espana, by Don Juan Antonia Llorente, considered as a fair and impartial document.

† See Watson's Hist. Philip II. Vol. i. B. VII. and X.

These circumstances too strongly corroborate the deeds which have fixed an everlasting stain on the conquerors of Peru, and lead the mind to picture to itself, what *may* have been the sanguinary excesses of a licentious and undisciplined army, pursuing to destruction a vanquished and defenceless people, who had no power to appeal to for assistance, no neighbouring state to flee to for protection, none to reproach their persecutors with their iniquities, nay, to whom even a tear of pity, that poor comfort of calamity, was obdurately denied. Whole tribes, districts, towns, and cities, were destroyed; pillage and murder lost all their horrors in their frequency, and every feeling of mercy was blunted in the multitude of victims! extermination was the cry, and under the relentless mandate *millions* perished. Some say, twenty-seven millions of the inhabitants of Peru have ultimately fallen by violence under the cruelty and oppression of Spain.* Even the *spiritual conquests* were commenced, and for a length of time continued by the aid of bayonets, and boasted of, observes Humboldt, as being useful to the advancement of religion, and to the aggrandizement of the missions from Europe. "The voice of the gospel is not listened to," said a Jesuit, "except where the Indians have heard the thunder of fire arms; persuasion is too slow in its operation; by chastening the natives you facilitate their conversion." Is it not this in strict truth—

"Hell's work performing in the name of God?"

And is it not a lamentable reflection, that of all the persecutions, all the causes of contention among mankind, there is not one which has excited so much uncharita-

* It has been already mentioned that by the *mita* conscription alone, upwards of eight millions of the natives have perished in the mines.

bleness, animosity, and cruelty, as religion! In the strifes that have had religion for their basis, mercy and conciliation seem to have been looked upon as blemishes on the character of piety, and considered by each party as evidence of lukewarmness and indifference in their *own* great cause of truth! With them, it may indeed be exclaimed, vengeance has been deemed a virtue, clemency a crime! But it is consoling now to know that the reign of fanaticism has passed, that the sacred figure of the cross can no longer be the banner under which men may triumphantly assemble to persecute their fellows and sprinkle the world with blood, nor can such acts now be boasted of as being the truest and most acceptable mode of promoting the doctrine of a merciful Redeemer.

Spaniards of the present day maintain, in the face of history, that the accusations against their country on the subject of her conquest and government of America are unfounded, and that foreigners descant upon them in a spirit of rancour—both, I believe, untenable positions. But, when allegations of an injurious tendency are made against nations, they ought, as in the case of individuals, to be well supported, and probably the most unquestionable mode of doing so is to bring forward the authority of those, who, as friends or countrymen of the accused, are presumed to be less prejudiced against them, and consequently less disposed to magnify statements in which their own character and honour may be fairly said to be involved. This induces me to mention, on the moment, the name of a Spaniard of noble birth, and a distinguished soldier—Don Alonzo de Ercilla y Zuñiga, who was *present at the scenes* he paints; and though he writes in poetry, he expressly observes “in prose,” that its strict conformity to *truth* is the chief merit of his work, “The Araucana.” In that work is the following stanza, on the conduct of his countrymen towards the

native Americans, which, by those who have investigated the subject, will be admitted to correspond with the statements of historians, and to exhibit in eight lines what they dilate upon in volumes.

"The seas of blood in these new countries spilt,
If that my judgment be in aught of worth,
Have hopes o'erthrown on conquest that were built,
Drowning the harvests of this golden earth.
For Spanish inhumanity and guilt,
Transgressing all the laws of war, gave birth
To such atrocities as ne'er before
Deluged a conquered land with native gore."*

In the Spanish edition of General Miller's Memoirs, lately published, there is a preface written by a distinguished Spanish officer, whose political conduct and liberal principles have caused his exile from his native land, and compel him, as well as many others of his countrymen, to reside in England, where happily his meritorious services during the Peninsular war are well known, and have ensured him the friendship and esteem which he deserves.

This gallant officer, with feelings as honourable as they are natural to the mind of man, has undertaken in his preface, to defend the cause of his country from those grievous charges which are recorded against her on the subject of the conquest and government of America. But there are few persons, I imagine, who will be induced

* The reader who, like myself, knows but little of Spanish literature, will probably not take it amiss if I inform him, that "The Araucana" is a celebrated Spanish epic poem, on the subject of a long and sanguinary contest in the reign of Philip II. between the Spaniards and a warlike race of Indians called Araucanians, who never were subdued to the Spanish yoke, and who still possess the unconquered province of Arauco, in South America. The stanza as above translated, together with an able critique on Ercilla's poem, may be seen in the Foreign Quart. Rev. Aug. 1829.

by his arguments to concur in a verdict in his favour. The writer asks—"Would not those who advance these revolting accusations against Spain be better employed in censuring the numerous acts of injustice committed by their own governments upon their present colonial possessions?" And suppose they did? would that circumstance tend to palliate or diminish the aggressions which America has suffered? Again, he asks—"Did the colonies established by the republics of antiquity, or the nations they conquered, enjoy greater liberty? Do the colonies, from the Indies to Canada, now under the European yoke, enjoy greater happiness?" I leave it to the reader to frame his answer to the foregoing queries, from the evidence of history and other uncontradicted testimony, and proceed to the continuation of the writer's questions—"Why," he asks, "should Spain be exclusively attacked?" Because her misconduct surpassed that of all other nations; or, to use the words of a Spaniard, because—

"—— Spanish inhumanity and guilt,
Transgressing all the laws of war, gave birth
To such atrocities as ne'er before
Deluged a conquered land with native gore."

Nay, is not this fully admitted even by the writer himself, who observes—"Spain conquered her colonies by force of arms, at a period when morals were far less clearly defined than in the present age;" (but in that very age her conduct was universally condemned by contemporaries;) "when a mistaken piety," continues the writer, "*sacrificed its victims without compunction*, and when superstition had her altars in all countries. The state of abasement in which the natives were discovered, their manners, customs, religion, sacrifices, and mode of making war, *deprived these unhappy people of all consideration in the eyes of their conquerors*, and their pre-

servation or annihilation was weighed rather in the scale of utility than justice !”

Again, on the subject of the subsequent government of the country, he observes—“ One would hardly expect to find, in the colonies of a nation enslaved and oppressed either by fanaticism or by the absolute power of her kings, either *good government, or justice, or liberty.*” Assuredly, there is nothing in the foregoing arguments that contradicts or weakens a single assertion I have hitherto made on the subject of the conquest and government of America. I shall now conclude with one more extract, in which I think it appears that the good judgment and impartiality of the gallant officer has evidently yielded to the ardour of patriotism, in his laudable anxiety to vindicate his country and his countrymen from accusations which, for three centuries, have stood recorded against them, without losing an iota of their gravity or force.

“ Without going back to the origin of things ; without giving to peculiar times and circumstances the weight they are entitled to, previous to the formation of any correct judgment, certain *inconsiderate declaimers** have accused, and continue to accuse, Spain and the Spaniards of acts of cruelty and barbarity which, under the same circumstances, they would have committed themselves ; and which, in all probability, they would have *exceeded.*” Impossible !—The whole civilised world, “ from the Indies to Canada,” will exclaim against the concluding sentence with that one emphatic word—Impossible !

Just arrived in the midst of a furious snow storm, at

* Garcillaso de la Vega, Las Casas, Ulloa, Robertson, and Humboldt,—the voice of America from Mexico to Arauco, supported by volumes of documents in the archives of Spain :—are all these *inconsiderate declaimers* ?

the ruined village of Condor-Pacheco; but such is the state of the post hut, the only *habitable* dwelling in the place, that through its thatchless roof the hail and snow beat loud and fast; yet not a thought turns on the inconvenience of the abode, for the thunder and lightning which "fill the eternal regions" seem to threaten utter destruction to the world! The forked lightning, glistening along the snow-covered earth, which resembles a blazing sea, renders this to me novel kind of thunder storm dreadfully magnificent! and the tremendous peals, rolling with distracting echo from mountain to mountain, give an appalling solemnity to the scene which it is not in the power of my pen to describe,—the storms of other climes, are in truth "summer flaws" compared to such as this.

As the night advanced, the fury of the tempest subsided; but the snow continuing to fall, I began to apprehend the danger of delay, and the probability of being shut up in Condor-Pacheco longer than its conveniences were likely to render it agreeable. I therefore prevailed (not by means of money so much as by kind entreaty) upon a fine Indian youth to accompany me, and precisely at twelve o'clock at night we set out in utter darkness, in the following order: The Indian guide, with a long stick in his hand, took the lead; Marquesa, the old mule, distinguished for her sagacity in selecting a safe footing in the most dangerous passes, was mounted by my peone, and had precedence of the other animals. I followed next upon my trusty *Tortuga*, whom I have always found, as his name implies, strong and solid as a tortoise, with all the life and agility of a guanaco, giving that confidence to his rider which is so peculiarly required in this country, and without which travelling in Peru would be among the worst of the worst miseries of human life. My servant, upon *el Cura de Tucuman*, not less confi-

dent in the good qualities of his animal than myself, brought up the rear of this line of march."

When our little preparations for comfort, such as settling in the saddle-seat, securing hats from being blown away, tying on neck handkerchiefs, and muffling up in the best possible manner, were concluded, I gave the word *adelante!* (forward!) when on we moved, not unlike a funeral *cortege* stealing to the grave in the obscurity of night, the cold keen blast forcing the tears from our eyes in streams as plenteous as ever flowed from the source of woe.

The silence of our procession was occasionally invaded by the call of *cuidado!* (take care!) which the guide pronounced with an emphasis proportioned to the caution requisite to be observed at various places in our route. *Cuidado! cuidado! cuidado!* in tones as various as our voices, then instantly passed along the line from front to rear. This warning voice was however of but little use, for we could see nothing; our dependence was entirely on the dexterity of our animals, whose instinct induced them to take care of themselves. No control with rein, whip, or spur, was attempted, nor could it have been prudently exercised. A loud snort from Marquesa at any dubious spot, and perhaps a momentary hesitation in her step, were quite sufficient to put the others on their guard, although, on those occasions, as well as on the call of *cuidado!* I must confess that I involuntarily pressed my spurs with a gentleness, not by any means to hurt, but just to be felt "ticklish," to the sides of Tortuga, merely for the purpose of asking "do you hear the call?" when a whisk of the tail, a throwing back of the ears, or shake of the head, answered as plainly as the language of the *Hounhynhymys* can express, "don't bother me." This I always considered a guarantee for my safety, and never was deceived. An unavoidable

slip or slide now and then occurred in following the footsteps of Marquesa, which Tortuga did with extraordinary precision, though much to his inconvenience; for Marquesa being tall, long, and thin, took very wide strides, and Tortuga being low, short, and fat, was obliged to stretch much beyond his natural gait, in order to step into the holes which were made for him in the snow by his leader.

The foregoing remarks will appear puerile to some, but not so to those who may have occasionally contracted something more than an ordinary feeling of interest for the animals that have faithfully served them, and have in fact become, in a long and useful companionship, particularly on a journey, objects of their greatest care and anxiety. For my own part, I never sat down to any meal after a day's journey, before I had provided, in the best manner that circumstances allowed, for the comfort of my animals. Often have I shared liberally and honourably my portion of bread with Tortuga, when on short commons; also when we have halted for a few minutes to take breath after ascending a mountain. These little duties we fairly owe to the dumb slaves of our will, and their patient and valuable services are assuredly deserving of them all.

We groped our way in the manner I have described for upwards of fifteen miles through the "palpable obscure," when the barking of dogs announced that a dwelling of some sort was at hand, and precisely at five o'clock in the morning of the

13th, we arrived at the post of Venta del Medio. Here I find the absolute necessity of a pen from the "fretful porcupine" and ink of blackest hue to enable me to convey to any English gentleman who has never left his native land, a true picture of the abode at which for the last four hours I had longed with infinite impatience to

arrive. The darkness of night, which still continued, was now, I felt, rather to be wished for than regretted, as it tended to conceal, in a great degree, the abomination of this public *accommodation*. Indeed, I fancied that the morning, in pity for my situation, was tardier than usual in dawning, and as for the sun, he did not appear at all, as if ashamed that his beams should be seen in contact with so much earthly misery. Oh! Connaught dear! Oh! Galway for ever! and all others, ye sanctuaries of penury, poverty, and want! how preferable would have been to me the worst of your destitute hovels, at the end of my cold cheerless ride this dreary morning!

I leaned against a wall for half an hour, more for the sake of giving that short time for rest to the animals than to myself, and then continued my journey to Oruro, still ten leagues distant, without hope of morsel for man or beast; the whole way (with the exception of a village on the left, *off* the road) being an unpeopled desert. My own stock, scanty at setting out, was all demolished, and my journey, owing to the snow storms, was protracted a day beyond the time that would otherwise have been required to perform it.

I had not ridden many miles when, turning out of the valley, a perfectly level plain of ocean-like space extended before me; travelling became easy for the animals, but the prospect, not very interesting, was rendered less so by a piercing cold wind, which blew with violence from the snow-covered Cordilleras. On the western side, at the extremity of this plain, stands the respectable and once wealthy town of Oruro, where I arrived in little more than six hours after my departure from Abomination Hut. To say that the party, master, man, and beast, were not all weary and hungry, is what no one expects; but it would be the height of ingratitude to omit that, in

the house of Don Manuel Tovar, we all found a hearty welcome, good cheer, and comfortable repose; and when I add, that I had been five whole days without drawing off my boots or lying upon a bed, it cannot be a subject of surprise that, on retiring to rest at my journey's end, I should have slept without symptoms of life for thirteen happy, happy hours.

A ride of nearly two hundred miles in very severe weather, under every privation, deserves at least the thanks of those in whose service it has been performed, and the directors can scarcely desire a stronger proof of the zeal and diligence of their officers in this country, not one of whom, I must in justice acknowledge, but would have performed as much with equal alacrity and good will as myself, had it been required of him.

It was gratifying to find that my journey was not in vain, for I found the packet of papers upon the table of the agent, where they would have remained, during his correctly reported absence in a distant part of the country. But on the evening of my arrival a courier was despatched to Arica, and by him I forwarded the important documents.

The present population of Oruro does not exceed four thousand souls, not half of what it possessed before the revolution, and these are in great indigence, owing to the destruction of their mines of silver and tin, which formerly supported a brisk and extensive commerce, now nearly extinct from want of those resources which were absorbed in the all-consuming evils of civil war. The tin mines of Oruro have long been famous, and the silver mines were at one period among the most productive in Peru, but being of late years abandoned, they have filled with water, which in this country they have not machinery for emptying, neither have they money

for applying any other efficacious means to that purpose. Here were many families of enormous wealth, if we may judge from the profusion of silver articles which they are said to have possessed. I shall mention the name of Don Juan Rodrigues, because my present host was acquainted with him, and had *seen* the silver, in the account of which I have been assured by others that there is no exaggeration.

Rodrigues was proprietor of a famous silver mine in the vicinity of Oruro, which was so productive, that he discarded from his house all articles of glass, delf, or crockery ware, and replaced them by others made from the silver of his mine. Utensils of the most common use, as well as articles of luxury and ornament, such as pier-tables in the principal apartments, frames of pictures and of mirrors, foot-stools, pots, and pans, were all of silver. "And," said the person, when relating the foregoing, "do you see that trough in the court-yard?" pointing to a very large stone trough for the purpose of watering mules and other animals; "I do assure you that Señor Rodrigues had two of much larger size for the same purpose, of pure and solid silver; and before the revolution there were three or four houses in Oruro that could boast of having quite as much."

Those who have read the accounts of early travellers in these countries must have noted instances of even greater riches than the foregoing. Let us give one example from Betagh's travels in 1720, when, in alluding to the wealth of Chili, it is observed that, "those who are easy in their circumstances and retire to Saint Yago, live in such a manner as sufficiently to demonstrate their riches, since all their utensils, even those that are most common, are of pure gold." "Now, had Captain Betagh said, instead of "*all*," "*many* of their utensils

were of pure gold," we should not feel so disposed, as we naturally are, to think that he said the thing that was not.

Rodrigues, from his great influence in Oruro, was supposed to have been implicated in the insurrection of the Indians, under the Cacique Tupac Amaro, in 1780, and was in consequence arrested by the Spanish authorities and sent prisoner to Buenos Ayres, where he remained in confinement for upwards of twenty years, and died on being restored to liberty at the breaking out of the late revolution.

It has appeared to me, though probably it is not actually the fact, that in South America parents are more fond of, more doating upon, their children, than in any other country that I have been in; and there is one general practice which supports this idea, that of a newly married couple being seldom permitted, however ample their means, to leave the house of their fathers to set up a separate establishment. The bride is either taken to the family of her husband, and with all her increase becomes a member of it, or the husband goes to that of his bride, where, if he thinks fit, he may take up his abode for life. I am aware that there are exceptions to this practice, particularly in Buenos Ayres, since its free communication with Europeans, and the consequent *refinement* of society; it is, nevertheless, very general throughout the country, and is grounded on the reluctance with which parents separate from their children.

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Oruro—Perplexity—Sudden flash of thought—Welcome in the houses of the clergy—Chicha—Certain prejudices—Scene in a dormitory—A splendid and imposing scene at sunrise—Chimborazo not the highest of the Andes.

After such a journey as that to Oruro, two days' rest will scarcely be considered an unreasonable indulgence either to man or horse; at the expiration of that time, having laid in a stock for the road, I put my cavalcade in motion, and, on the 16th of September, set out to return to Potosi. I had proceeded about a mile from Oruro, when I met the courier, who delivered to me a packet of letters, which he had been directed to keep at hand, in the expectation of meeting me, according to directions given to that purpose when I left Potosi.

Among the letters there was one from our chief miner, Baron von Czettritz, at La Paz, stating that, notwithstanding what I had written to him on the necessity of stopping all farther expenses in acquiring mines for the company, he thought it his duty to follow the instructions previously given to him by the chief commissioner; and, in conformity with them, he now requested that I might send him funds forthwith, it being his intention to set out in a few days from La Paz, to inspect a gold mine, and another of quicksilver, which had been recently offered to him under circumstances so very advantageous, that if upon inspection they turned out equal to report, he would secure them for the association. This intimation induced me to suppose, either that the baron was still ignorant of the change which had taken place in our circumstances, or that, being, as he really was, somewhat captious on the subject of his rank as

chief miner, he was unwilling to condescend to acknowledge himself subordinate to the directions of any one except the chief commissioner, and therefore declined obedience to my injunctions to cease from all speculations. The "Señor Secretario" might, by possibility, be a great man in his own department, and might probably understand mending pens, but he had no knowledge of *mining*, and could have no control over the Baron Herrmann von Czettritz. "There is nothing like leather" would be a very fit motto for many persons. High as was the baron's estimation of the arts and sciences, and of knowledge in general, it was far surpassed by that in which he held mines and mining. The foregoing remark might be thought to savour a little of jealousy on my part, were I to conceal that this very intelligent gentleman was as zealous in the performance of his duty towards his employers as any individual in the Association; and no one had a higher opinion than myself of his prudence and judgment in what might or might not be advantageous to its interests. This opinion, on the present occasion, led to the following soliloquy.

"The state of glorious uncertainty in which the directors have placed us with respect to our future proceedings, makes caution doubly necessary; for, in the event of our operations being continued, and of my opposing and preventing that which competent persons may hereafter prove would have been of infinite advantage, I necessarily expose myself to censure. Again, in the event of the speculation being abandoned, if I incur expenses, which, in consequence of that abandonment, turn out to be fruitless, I am equally exposed to censure, and liable to be charged with the waste of funds. I see on the one hand very favourable prospects if our preliminary steps are followed up, and I admit the importance of making promising acquisitions 'under advan-

tageous circumstances.' The arrival of our ship, with engineers, artificers, and a cargo of twenty thousand pounds in value, is a strong inducement to suppose that our operations *will* be continued, and prevents the necessity of putting an immediate stop to our proceedings. On the other hand, I see the dilemma in which we are placed by the protest of the chief commissioner's draft, and latterly, that dilemma has been increased by a division amongst the directors."

These were my inward reasonings; but, besides being naturally averse to indulge sentiments of despondency, I could not summon resolution to rob myself so suddenly of the imaginary riches I had long since acquired from the mines of Peru, a great portion of which I had even expended by anticipation in the construction of aerial castles, some of which I had completely roofed in, to say nothing of sundry excellent plans which I had devised for the future enjoyment of life in enviable luxury and bliss. None of these, on the present occasion, could I willingly forego, nor could I, in good truth, see any thing in our difficulties that might not ultimately be overcome.

With respect to the projects of Baron Czettritz, I was aware that our chief commissioner intended to fix an establishment in the province of La Paz; and although I had not the means of sending funds to the baron, I did not wish, in my ignorance of the advantageous offers made to him, blindly to oppose his views; therefore, I decided upon writing, on the first opportunity, a full account of the complexion which our affairs had taken at home, leaving it to his own good judgment to direct his proceedings.

After reading the other letters delivered to me by the courier, two of which were from my friends Señor Christobal and Mr. Scriviner, "hoping that I was very

well," and informing me that Potosi remained precisely as I had left it, I continued my journey.

I travelled nearly half a mile, when, with the suddenness of the lightning that flashed over the distant Cordillera, a thought struck me, of so happy a turn, that the execution of it could not possibly be attended with any inconvenience except to myself alone, and that was—a journey to La Paz, where an interview of half an hour with the baron, would, I felt satisfied, enable us to act with more harmony between ourselves, and with more advantage to our employers, than the consumption of a whole quire of paper in epistolary correspondence. Three minutes elapsed in considering this new idea, for it is not in an *instant* that any person on a journey of two hundred miles can be expected to resolve on turning short round in the middle of the road, to ride nearly that same distance in a contrary direction.

When I wheeled my horse round, my peones followed in dubious perplexity on the suddenness of the manœuvre, which from their conversation, now and then borne by the breeze to my ear, I could ascertain had continued to occupy them with strange conjectures during ten leagues over a dead flat plain, when we arrived at the village of Caracolla. The large church, whose bells were chiming, indicated the residence of a curate, where I stopped for the night.

There is something peculiarly gratifying in the confidence of welcome with which in this country a traveller, of any degree of respectability, may take up his abode at the houses of the clergy, in the different towns or villages on his route. "Where is the house of the Father Curate?" is the usual question asked by a stranger on entering a village; and on alighting at the door, if the Father is at home, and happens not to be asleep, (when none dare disturb him) the only preliminary requisite in

taking possession of the quarters, is to make an obeisance and say, "Good morrow to you, Senor Cura!" A smile of welcome, with a few accompanying words of kindness, and a shake of the hand from the Cura, establishes you, in nine cases out of ten, with as much ease and freedom as in your own house. The Father then turns to the peones and servants, who have all dismounted, anxiously waiting to catch his eye in its glances round, when he pronounces the usual benediction—"God bless you, my sons!" upon which they respectfully take off their hats and say, "God keep your reverence!" They then unload the baggage, and place it in the apartment destined for these passing visits: and this operation the casual absence of the curate in no way prevents, for then the *ama*, (housekeeper,) or perhaps "the niece," makes the stranger equally welcome.

I do not say, that in all cases good cheer is to be met with, or that in any case the English traveller will find such comforts as in England are well known to be the usual attributes of the "snug parsonage." Throughout the British dominions, "parsonage" and "comfort" go together as naturally and inseparably as "ham and chicken." Here is no such enviable appendage to a benefice as the former, and what is considered "comfort" in decent life in England is yet unknown. As to chickens and fowls, when boiled to rags, they are torn to pieces without a single thought of ham or bacon, or even a suspicion that the absence of the latter is an outrageous violation of the rules of domestic economy as practised with us.

The traveller, however, frequently finds all the convenience he expects, taking it for granted that he is aware of the very few wants of the natives, and is satisfied to comply with their manners and customs. The curate is always useful in recommending to his lodgers those

persons in the village or neighbourhood who can best supply forage for the animals, or any little necessary for themselves; and if the charges happen to be a little unreasonable, a few kind words from the *Padre* will accommodate the difference to the satisfaction of all.

I found the village of Caracolla crowded with Indians and others, the inhabitants, old and young, of both sexes, from the neighbouring and the distant villages, who had assembled in their gayest attire to celebrate the great holiday of the "Elevation of the Cross," which, according to the Roman calendar, this day proves to be. Mass was performed in all the dignity of village pomp; processions followed, in which were groups fantastically dressed in masquerade; some carrying banners, some playing wild music upon flageolets, horns, drums, and trumpets, with the vocal accompaniment of shouts and screams. Their appearance before the house of the curate can scarcely be more accurately described than by the following lines:—

"The men with the kettle-drums entered the gate,
Dub—rub-a-dub, dub—the trumpeters follow'd,
Tantara, tantara—then all the boys holla'd."

SWIFT.

Infinite, indeed, was the mirth of all, which was kept up by dancing, singing, and drinking *chicha* to excess. This latter part of the ceremony is never omitted upon the feasts and holidays of these people, which are very seldom known to terminate in those riotous outrages that so frequently occur at popular meetings, in countries where pretensions to civilisation are carried to a greater pitch.

Chicha is the favourite beverage of the South American Indians, and also of many who consider it an insult to be called Indians. The manner in which it is made, as I have frequently witnessed at Potosi, is as follows:—

A quantity of Indian corn is pounded into a fine powder and placed in a heap, round which as many old women (I always observed they were old women) as can form a convenient circle sit down upon the ground, and, filling their mouths with the powder, chew it into a paste—perhaps “*mumble*” would be the appropriate term; for to “chew,” I presume, there must be teeth, but in this operation the performers are toothless. When the paste, then, is mumbled to a sufficient consistency, it is taken out of the mouth, and rolled between the palms of the hands into a ball, generally about the size of a grape-shot, but varying, of course, according to the capacity of the mouth from which the substance is taken. The balls are piled in a pyramid, until the flour of the *mais* is finished; they are then placed upon a fire to bake. After this, they are put into a given quantity of water, where they ferment; I am not aware that any other ingredient is used. The fermentation forms the beverage called “*chicha*,” which is the nectar of the Indians, and, although inebriating, it is by no means injurious to health. In hot weather, I must acknowledge, notwithstanding the process, which is a most unsightly scene to witness, a draught of *chicha* is extremely grateful; though I know not how to describe the taste, nearer than what may be imagined would be obtained by a mixture of small beer and indifferent cider, yet is it considered as nutritious among the labouring classes as porter is in England.

The curate's house, in dimensions and in the distribution of the apartments, would, in Connaught, be called a very good cabin; and although it possessed neither chair nor table, a mud bench against the wall of the apartment being the seat, and a square mud-built heap near it doing permanent duty as a table, yet were there large silver dishes, in which were served up an excellent

chupé, (mutton broth) and some very good potatoes with their jackets on. The drinking cups of the same metal stood in the sill of a window, and when I asked for water to wash my hands before dinner, it was brought to me by the *ama* in a capacious utensil, also of silver; certain prejudices, however, induced me politely to decline availing myself of it for *that* purpose, which not a little surprised the *ama*, who assured me that the curate never used any thing else, and that, in the domestic services of the house, it had long

“ ————contrived a double debt to pay.”

After partaking of a very good supper, I spread my horse sheets in the middle of the floor, and, wrapped in my poncho, with my saddle under my head, in spite of the uproarious mirth of the villagers without, I soon ceased to think of the manners, customs, fancies, antipathies, whims, and oddities, of the world, which vary every day we live and every mile we go.

As the night advanced, the merriment of the village festival subsided, and wearied parties gradually filled the house of the curate, to whom, as to me, the roof for a covering and the floor for a bed were freely bestowed; and a much greater number availed themselves of this hospitality than it was ever contemplated, in the construction of the house, should one day be entertained within its walls. The frequent stepping over me and on me, and the whisperings and bustling of the retiring parties, roused me from my comfortable sleep, and occasioned for a moment that sort of fretful ill humour which usually occurs on being unexpectedly or unnecessarily disturbed. It was, however, *only* for a moment, for upon raising my head and looking round me, a feeling of a very opposite kind was excited by the curious scene in which I found myself the centre.

A large church taper, a perquisite I presume of his reverence's, was supported on the floor in the middle of the apartment—I thought of the pillar of light and the Israelites, but for the life of me I cannot tell why. By the glare of this taper, I counted seventeen persons, male and female, some of them most fantastically dressed, reposing and preparing for repose. The men laid themselves down just as they came in and chanced to find a vacant space upon the floor. The females all said an *Ave-maria*, told their beads, crossed themselves, and undressed; then, placing their thickly quilted petticoats for a bed, they also lay down, *sans ceremonie*, as they best could, covering themselves with their shawls:—

“ There they were, the girls and boys,
As thick as hasty pudding.”

Two young Cholas, fifteen or sixteen years of age, were close at the foot of where I had extended myself for the night; but, had they been in the remotest corner of our sty-like dormitory, they must have attracted the particular attention of a stranger. They had, no doubt, been acting some principal characters in the processions of the day, for they represented precisely those figures, which we so often see in rather gaudy colours as emblems of America, and which, with the other quarters of the world, are favourite ornaments in cottages and villages among the humble amateurs of the fine arts. The Cholas, having performed their devotions, and partly divested themselves of their dresses, mutually assisted in arranging and plaiting their long shining tresses, literally glistening with jet, which partly hung down their finely formed bronze coloured shoulders.

The Chola girls generally, from the age of fourteen to eighteen, have remarkably fine busts, good teeth, well-turned limbs, plump cheeks, &c. and sometimes coun-

tenances full of animation, and much pleasing feminine expression. Their raven locks are of most luxuriant growth, and generally descend half way down the person—

“Increasing beauties they invade ;”

but, although they bestow much pains on the hair, they do not in all cases succeed in keeping it perfectly clean: the neatness, however, with which they plait it into tresses, cannot be exceeded by the first rate artists in the profession of ornamental hair-dressing. I have more than once offered two ounces of gold to Peruvian girls in humble life for their head of hair, and although that sum (between six and seven pounds) would have been wealth to them, it was not sufficient to tempt them, even for a lover's sake, to apply the scissors.

The charms and attractions to which I have alluded desert the native females, in this country, at an age in which they may frequently be seen in full bloom in England, where they continue in some cases to attract admiration even in a green old age. Here they flourish, fade and die, within the space of a few short years, and a vestige of them is seldom to be seen in an elderly woman.

17th. Soft shades of light from the blushing east had just announced the approach of day, when I awoke, and immediately prepared to depart, but first wondered within myself how I could have slept in the midst of such a din as now assailed my ears in discordant tones of *thorough-bass*, proving with full effect the propriety and force of the phrase, “sonorous silence.”

I travelled about eighteen miles before breakfast, then twenty-five more, and stopped at Sicasica, formerly a neat and respectable town, with between three and four thousand inhabitants, now nearly ruined, and with

scarcely as many hundreds. In the neighbourhood are several silver mines, which have been, and still may be worked with great advantage. Flocks and herds, which before the revolution covered the rich pastures of this part of the country, have not yet recovered from the depredations they suffered. Desolation and poverty are every where manifest; the post house, however, is good, and the host an obliging, respectable man.

18th. A fine but cold day. I travelled about forty miles to the ruined village of Calamarca; the road was flat and good, and on each side were hills of a smaller size, with smoother and more verdant surface than I had hitherto seen in Peru. Several were in a state of cultivation by the Indians; all of them had evidently been so formerly.

19th. Fine weather. By being on my journey a full hour before the morning dawned, I had an opportunity of beholding at sunrise a scene of magnificence scarcely to be surpassed in the world. Its imposing effects upon my mind, when day first developed the object to my view, it is utterly impossible for me to describe; but the scene was this. High in the blue crystal vault, and immediately before me, as I rode thoughtlessly along, I perceived a brilliant streak resembling burnished gold, dazzling to look on, and wonderfully contrasted with the shades of night, which still lingered upon the world beneath; for to us the sun had not yet risen, though the sombre profiles of the Cordilleras might be distinctly traced through the departing gloom. Imperceptibly the golden effulgence blended with a field of white, glistening in vestal purity, and, expanding downwards, gradually assumed the form of a pyramid of silver of immeasurable base. I stopped in mute amazement, doubtful of what I beheld. Day gently broke, and the tops of distant mountains glittered in the early beams; the sun

then rose, or rather *rushed* upon the silent world, in a full blazing flood of morning splendour, and at the same moment the stupendous Ylimani, the giant of the Andes, in all the pomp of mountain majesty, burst upon my view.

My first feeling was a sense of delight, with an expansion of soul producing positive rapture. Never before did I feel myself endowed with equal energy, or experience such an elevation of sentiment. Never did I feel myself less, so quickly did that sentiment subside into devout humility. Admiration, reverance, and awe, with a consciousness of human inferiority, were the mingled feelings of my heart in contemplating this terrestrial manifestation of the glory of God. Here! I exclaimed with fervour and delight—here do I behold the sublime and beautiful, spontaneously produced in the great page of nature by the omnipotence and providence of nature's God.

That the majestic mountain of Ylimani, rearing its prodigious bulk high into the region of eternal snow, existed in the district of La Paz, I was well aware, and I knew that I should see it; but, unprepared as I was at the time, besides being full thirty miles distant, it was altogether unexpected; and the glare of magnificence in which it so suddenly, and, to appearance, so closely presented itself, absolutely surpassing imagination, occasioned in a stronger degree those sensations, which a scene so truly imposing, in the midst of solitary grandeur, was well calculated to inspire. They who have witnessed and enjoyed wild and magnificent scenery, such as this, must also have *felt* the transport it occasions; they will admit that a superior order of sentiment accompanies the contemplation of such wondrous works.

Chimborazo has long passed for the highest of the Cordilleras, and, until the discovery of the Himalaya,

was supposed to be the highest mountain in the world. M. Humboldt, as he himself observes, "had the pleasure of seeing a greater extent of mountains than any other geognost," but he did not pursue his travels to this part of the Andes, where subsequent travellers have ascertained the height of the Ylimani to be 21,800 feet above the level of the sea, exceeding that of Chimborazo by 350 feet—no very great difference, it may perhaps be said, in subjects of such vast dimensions; but still, quite sufficient to take from the latter the palm of *superlative* magnitude and grandeur in the great chain of the Andes.

Mr. Pentland, who measured the Ylimani in 1826, gave me his calculations with the remark, that "they required revision;" consequently they were not intended to go forth as accurate. At a subsequent period, I was informed by our chief commissioner, who took a warm interest in these subjects, that the height of Ylimani had been given to him as 21,800 feet, which agrees with that given to me by Mr. Pentland, and this appears to be corroborated by the observations of Doctor Redhead.

The Ylimani, and the neighbouring mountains, "are composed of transition slate chiefly, traversed by numerous veins of quartz, containing auriferous pyrites, and gold in small quantities." That such an immense mountain should be composed of transition slate instead of granite has struck some persons as a matter of surprise; it appears, however, that "the Andes are chiefly composed of porphyry and *not* of granite"

CHAPTER V.

Immense space without a single tree—An enigma—Representation of a strange and wonderful scene—Arrival in the city of La Paz—Hospitality of the natives fairly put to the test—Don Manuel—Dress of the peasant girls of La Paz—Carne con cuero—The Tordo—Disagreeable feeling in shamming the agreeable.

Having ridden about fifteen miles, I stopped at the post house of Ventilla to refresh the horses and to breakfast; but at this wretched abode there was nothing except a few dried beans and some Indian corn, which is the principal food of these poor people, and indeed, wherever good Indian corn is to be had, there can be no complaint of starvation; but, nutritious as it certainly is, a hungry traveller desires something more substantial, and is not easily reconciled to such frugal fare. For horses and mules there cannot be a better food.

The city of La Paz was still twelve to fifteen miles distant: thither, with patience, which from custom and necessity I may now claim as a virtue, I directed my infinitely more patient Tortuga. The road lay over a flat table-land, for the most part covered with loose stones, and with a low green shrub; a tree is rarely to be seen by the traveller in a distance of nearly five hundred miles, commencing three or four posts to the southward of Potosi, and journeying in the direction I have taken; but, a few leagues beyond La Paz is a district called Yungas, where, in forests producing the celebrated Peruvian bark, are various kinds of the finest timber.

After travelling twelve, thirteen, and, as I imagined, every mile of the distance from Ventilla to La Paz, my astonishment was excited by not perceiving on so level a plain any object indicating the existence of a town.

Sundry groups of Indians, droves of mules, lamas, and asses, some unladen, some with burthens, were indeed to be seen passing and repassing, as in the bustle of business; but no building or habitation whatever: no turret, dome, or steeple, of church or convent appeared in view, although the tolling of their bells occasionally struck faintly on the ear. Huge, barren, weatherbeaten rocks, and snow-covered mountains, apparently close at hand, rose directly before me, and presented an impassable barrier.

I could not conceive where I was to find a town; and, as I rode onwards in strange perplexity endeavouring to solve the enigma, I arrived suddenly at the verge of an abrupt and prodigious precipice, at the bottom of which I beheld, in diminutive perspective, the large and populous city of La Paz. I had frequently been told of the peculiar situation and scenery of this place; but oh! "how imperfect is expression!" and how much do I feel at this moment the want of descriptive power! Suffer me, however, gentle reader, to convey to your imagination, by my own method of sketching, a feeble representation of the curious, the pleasing, the wonderful scene, that here presented itself.

Fancy yourself travelling leisurely along upon a high table, or any other plane that you may like better. This is bounded by a huge mountainous rampart, in which, be it remembered, is one of the greatest, grandest mountains on the globe, and far surpassing

"Those wonders of the world so chronicled by Fame:"

the giant of the *Cordillera de los Andes* cannot be considered in any less character. These mountains appear to rise out of the plane on which you are riding, and your expectation is, that you must actually arrive at them, for no obstacle is to be seen between you and them.

Whilst you are musing on the how and the where your journey is to end, the distance being already performed, which, with your disposition to rest, increases your impatience to discover the town, you arrive unexpectedly at the edge of the plain, and behold a vast gulf at your feet, in the bottom of which appears a town very regularly built with packs of cards. The first *coup-d'œil* of La Paz conveys precisely this idea; the red-tiled roofs and white fronts of the houses answering admirably for hearts and diamonds, and the smoked roofs and dingy mud walls of the Indian *rancios*, equally well for spades and clubs. Through this fairy town may be faintly seen, winding with occasional interruptions, a silver thread marked with specks of frothy white, which, upon approaching, proves to be a mountain torrent, leaping from rock to rock, and sweeping through the valley. In casting a glance farther round, you perceive squares and patches of every shade of green and yellow which, to a European, is perhaps the most striking part of the interesting scene. Corn, and fruit, and vegetables, and crops of every kind, may be seen in all their stages, from the act of sowing to that of gathering them in;—here, a field of barley luxuriantly green:—there, another in full maturity, which the Indians are busily reaping:—next to it, a crop just appearing above the ground:—farther on, another arrived at half its growth:—beyond it, a man guiding a pair of oxen, yoked to a shapeless stick, the point of which scratches the earth sufficiently for the reception of the seed, which another man is scattering in the furrows:—trees bearing fruit, and at the same time putting forth buds and blossoms, complete the scene of luxuriance. I beheld in the full beauty of truth, that charming land-

scape in the valley of Quito, depicted by Marmontel in his interesting tale of "The Incas."

In a word, was I not actually in that clime which the poet describes merely as imaginary—

"Where western gales eternally reside,
And all the seasons lavish all their pride;
Blossoms, and fruits, and flowers together rise,
And the whole year in gay confusion lies?"

Yet it requires only to raise the eyes from the lap of this fruitful Eden to behold the widest contrast in the realms of nature. Naked and arid rocks rise in mural precipices around: high above these, mountains beaten by furious tempests, frown in all the bleakness of sterility: higher still, the tops of others, reposing in the region of eternal snow, glisten uninfluenced in the presence of a tropical sun.

I stopped for some minutes on the verge of the precipice to look upon a scene so wonderfully strange; indeed, my horse, of his own accord, made the first pause, and with outstretched neck, ears advanced, and frequent snorting, showed that he was not unaware of the abyss beneath, and seemed to enquire how it was to be descended; for the road, in a sudden turn, winding round the face of the precipice, is at first completely concealed from view; and, although it appeared as if I could have "thrown a biscuit" into the town from the heights where I first discovered it, a short league is the calculated distance, and full three quarters of an hour were occupied in descending, before I entered the suburbs. Here, again, I was surprised to find that the town, which, from the height I had just left, appeared to be upon a flat, was in reality built upon hills, and that some of the streets were extremely steep, which

circumstance alone must convey a tolerable idea of the depth of the valley in which the city of La Paz is situated. Among the objects which composed this singular and wonderful scenery, the huge condor, on his broad expanded wings soaring over the abyss, must not be forgotten.

I went from *tambo* to *tambo* in search of a lodging, but found them all full of travelling merchants and muleteers, or affording such indifferent accommodation as I saw no necessity for putting up with in a flourishing city where better might be had. John Caspar Lavater truly says, that "he who is content with common, gross, or homely objects, is a vulgar being, incapable of sentiment, and undeserving of better." This of course does not apply to the generally discontented man, whom nothing can satisfy; but to him who, happening to have the choice of good or bad, is indifferent about it, and disregards those little comforts which others delight in having around them. Money I did not want; but there are occasions where money is of no use, and those occasions occur in South America more frequently, perhaps, than in any other part of the world.

I wandered up and down the streets, literally worn out with fatigue and hunger, my peones and my poor animals not less so than myself. Here I am, said I, an utter stranger, and in absolute want of bed and board; this is a fair opportunity for putting to the test those often proffered services and complimentary generosities of a South American. I may now ascertain if those compliments, in which he is so prone to indulge at first sight, even towards those of whom he knows nothing, are in all cases merely habitual empty ceremonials; or, if they have not sometimes the solid basis of honesty and liberality.

"*Paisano!*" said I, to the first decent person who passed, (*countryman* being the term which strangers use in civilly accosting each other in this country) "*paisano!*" said I, "pray whose house is that?" pointing to a very large and respectable looking mansion, with a fine old-fashioned gateway to the street. "That is the house of Don Manuel Valdivien," replied the stranger. "What sort of a fellow is he?" said I. "A worthy, excellent man," replied the stranger. Good! thought I to myself. "Is he married?" said I. "Yes, and has a family," said the stranger. "And what sort of a *fellow* is the wife?" asked I. "So, so!—rather hasty, but that's nothing," replied the stranger, adding, as in exculpation, "They say she is amiable, but not quite so much so as her husband." There may be no great harm in that, said I to myself. "Do you think, *paisano*," said I, "that I could obtain a lodging in the house?" "And why not? There is plenty of room for you and for your horses also: do you wish that I should accompany you?" said the stranger. "What!" said I, "have you any share in the house; or are you acquainted with Don Manuel Valdivien?" "No, not I," said he: "but seeing you are a stranger, if you need my services I will accompany you." "A thousand thanks, *paisano*," said I, "I shall give you no farther trouble, for I shall go and present myself to Don Manuel, and acquaint him with my situation." Wishing the stranger good morning, I rode through the gateway into a spacious court, where the clattering of my horses' feet soon attracted several persons to a balcony, of which the old-fashioned balustrades of rudely carved wood extended round the house on the first floor.

I enquired, civilly taking off my hat, if Don Manuel

Valdivien was at home? "Yes, *Señor!*" replied several voices at the same time. I then dismounted at the foot of a large stone stair-case, intending to ascend it to the balcony, when I heard a female voice loudly exclaim,—“Don Manuel is sleeping the siesta, and nobody shall see him now!” “No, *Señora,*” replied one of the domestics, respectfully, “he is smoking a cigar, for I have just taken him the *braserito.*”* “That is nothing to the purpose, *Indian!*† he is still in bed, and nobody shall disturb him,” said the first female, in a tone so stoutly authoritative, as made it easy to guess this to be the lady “*algo viva*” and *Doña de la casa*.

I agree with the “Childe” in thinking that—

“Brisk confidence still best with woman copes:”

I therefore ascended the stair-case to the balcony, and with somewhat of a dignified confidence, approached the lady, whom I accosted with more of the French manner than the English, because the former is more seducing, and, out of England, is every where preferred to the cold formality of the latter. My bows, however, which I made with theatrical precision from one end of the balcony to the other, and, as I thought, with infinite grace, were all to no purpose; they did not obtain in return a single curtsey or obeisance of any kind.

I certainly should not state the whole truth, if I did not confess that I felt “*dashed,*” and to the bystanders I know I must have appeared *conspicuous*. The lady, a tall fine figure, stood for some time like a pillar of salt to my politely-studied address; but at length, when to

* A small silver pan for holding fire for lighting cigars.

† *India! Indio!* pronounced with emphasis and in anger, when addressing an Indian, is intended as an epithet of reproach to that race, and means quite as much as *fool, blockhead, scoundrel, villain, &c.* among polished nations.

those hems and haws, and a's and o's, (which are usually stammered out in sudden disappointment and confusion,) she haughtily asked—"What do you want?" I really did not know what to answer. I could not well say, "I'll trouble you for a night's lodging, and something to eat!" But, summoning back the "brisk confidence" that had nearly deserted me, I replied, that "I wished to see Señor Don Manuel Valdivien." To this the lady retorted in a sharp tone—"You can't see him," and half turned the back part of her person towards me. "The extreme kindness I have always experienced," I exclaimed, "*Señora mia*, from your *amables paisanas*, prevents me from supposing, even for an instant, that the beams from those eyes can be converted into fiery darts at the tongue, to strike with harshness upon an unknown and unoffending stranger!" The lady looked full at me for a moment, then averting her head, looked downwards, enabling me thereby to twist myself into one of those wooing attitudes, which we so often see in a pantomime, when Colin peeps over the shoulder into the face of his half-unwilling Chloe. Having fixed my eyes upon the quick, round, and full black orbs of the lady, I followed their wandering movements, whilst I said, in somewhat of a whining tone, accompanied with an affected smile, "*Perdona, Señora*, if I mistake not, I have the honour of speaking to *la amable patrona*," (the amiable mistress of the house), "and that being the case, I have no need of seeing Don Manuel, for my business, although of infinite importance to myself, depends altogether on the kind disposition and good will of the lady I have the honour of addressing, and the still greater honour of *poniendome a sus pies*"—a usual Spanish compliment to ladies, meaning literally—

“Madam, I do, as is my duty,
Honour the shadow of your shoe-tie.”

Having said and acted all this with a becoming and effective graceful grimace, the patrona at last blushed a little and smiled a little, then turned her head towards me, whilst she repaid my compliments with compliments from herself, and in a tone of evident good humour, asked; “Pray, *Caballero*, what business can you have with me?”—“Well, *Señora*, it is in truth no business upon *business*, but still must be settled, and with your approbation too; it is also of a nature in which I should feel proud of an opportunity, in *my* country, to offer you, *Señora*, the services of your most obedient humble servant.”—An exceedingly well-judged bow accompanied the *finale* of this speech. “*Caballero*! I beg you may command me.” Then really I must *dispose of you* to my personal advantage, said I to myself; for it is getting late, and if I am obliged to turn out, I may not find another opportunity for *booming* myself into a lodging for the night. I had commenced to the *patrona* the story of my necessity, or rather of my discomfort, for I was not by any means in a state of need, when a gentleman-like man, with mild and prepossessing countenance, to which a paleness from ill health gave an additional cast of interest, accosted me in terms that at once proved him to be Don Manuel Valdivien.

Every body must have experienced that a kind and affable reception removes the formality and embarrassment which usually attend a first introduction, particularly when the object of that introduction is to solicit a personal favour. I had no difficulty in explaining my situation to Don Manuel: the moment I mentioned that I was an Englishman, he made me welcome in the most cordial manner, ordered his servants to take my horses and mules to the *corral*, and conducted me himself to a

comfortable apartment, where, to my agreeable surprise, I found not only tables, chairs, and sundry conveniences, but actually a four-post bed, which was immediately prepared for me, by letting down its rich scarlet damask curtains, and spreading fine Holland sheets edged with broad lace, as were also the pillow cases, which were beautifully worked. Apologies were then made for the lateness of the hour, which rendered it difficult to procure all the cook *wished* to give me for dinner, but what was in the house, an excellent kind of perch, and a beef steak, *à la Americaine*, were served up (on *plate*, of course), accompanied with a bottle of very good light wine, manufactured from Don Manuel's vineyards at his country place a few leagues from the city.

Don Manuel had had some large transactions with British merchants, which, and personal acquaintance with a few individuals of that nation, (naming General Miller, Colonel O'Connor, and Doctor Nicol,) had, he said, very much prepossessed him in their favour, and his house should at all times be at the disposal of the English.

The brother of Don Manuel, accompanied by his very handsome, but very taciturn wife, paid me a complimentary visit in the course of the evening. He is a gentlemanly young man, and appeared to me as kind and affable as his elder brother. Both of them seemed to have profited by a very select library of French and Spanish authors, with which the house of Don Manuel was provided, and which was to me (since my arrival in South America) a subject of as rare and agreeable surprise as the four-post bed.

It was quite delightful to stroll, at an early hour, through the files of peasantry in the fruit and vegetable market of La Paz, where they displayed their baskets filled with the luxuriant produce of their gardens.

purchased pine-apples, strawberries, bananas, plantanas, oranges, tunas, and I know not what besides, all for about eighteen pence. They were certainly very good, but the strawberries much inferior in flavour to those of the gardens of Europe.

The peasant girls, both Cholas and Indians, of this district, appeared to me of a prettier cast of countenance, and they were likewise better dressed, than those of Potosi; their hats are very becoming, and although not what is called a Polish hat, have some resemblance to it. I have seen eyes of brilliant black, "as if in mourning for the murders they had committed," (as a Spanish poet has fancifully said of those of his mistress,) peep with a bewitching effect from under the broad brim, that extends, not from the bottom part, but rather from the *crown* of the hat, and round which a little curtain, made of lace, or fancy-coloured silk, or velvet, is drawn up in festoons.

In the seventeenth century, about one league from this city, a large mass of solid gold was found by an Indian, and purchased for 11,269 dollars, by the Spanish viceroy, who sent it to the cabinet of natural history at Madrid, where I believe it is still to be seen. It was supposed to have been detached by lightning from the huge Ylimani, in which many veins of gold are known to exist. Large quantities of native gold have also been found from time to time at the base of the Ylimani, in a lake situated at the enormous elevation of 15,780 feet above the level of the sea. This lake of Ylimani is likewise celebrated for having been made the depository of a great part of the treasures of the once-famed city of Cusco; it being handed down by tradition, that, at the period of the Spanish conquest, the Indians carried them thither, and sunk them in the lake to secure them from the rapacity of their invaders. In confirmation of

this tradition, several articles of gold have been found at different times; and the belief of the fact has given rise to a company for draining the lake, which, it appears, may be accomplished to a certain extent, at a moderate expense.

A gentleman of Tucuman, Señor Gramacho, whom I had met during my stay in that town, but who was now established here in extensive commercial business, chiefly in Peruvian bark, invited me to a large dinner party, where I met General Fernandez, the prefect of La Paz, and several other gentlemen of respectability and distinction. We sat down, sixteen persons, to a most excellent dinner, and passed three hours in as cheerful conviviality as I ever recollect to have enjoyed at the social board. Among the numerous dishes that burthened the table, the most remarkable was an enormous mass of *carne con cuero*, (meat in the hide.) It had the appearance of a singed calf served up whole, and therefore, by a person unacquainted with its merits, it could not be supposed to present a pleasing or prepossessing mien. But the moment the monstrous dish was laid upon the table by the united exertions of two attendants, I observed the eyes of each guest expand with delight, and every countenance shine with a smile of welcome, as at the introduction of some well-known agreeable friend, from whose mirth-inspiring talents all were prepared to receive entertainment. I felt deeply the pungency of remorse at my own insensibility, but resolved that no hasty opinion, founded on external appearance, should prejudice me against that which seemed to command universal esteem; neither should it induce me to remain any longer in ignorance of worth, that possibly needed only to be known to be coveted and enjoyed.

General Fernandez, by the courteous laws of precedence, was the first to put to the test the skill of the

carver, whose dexterity proved him to be no novice in the subject before him. It was gratifying to see the position taken up by the general, and the laudable impatience with which he waited to attack: boldly sitting upon his chair, showing an imposing front, with each wing, that is, each hand, firmly posted on the table, the knife grasped in one, the fork in the other, erect as halberds,—with a well-chosen distance between, designed to receive that upon which he was prepared to charge with the avidity of a Mohawk. He had not long to endure this painful state of suspense; ample employment, to his very heart's content, was given to him with all possible speed. “*Que bocado tan rico!—delicioso!—riquísimo!*” was pronounced with the forcible emphasis of a full mouth at every mouthful.

The honour of precedence was next conceded to me, when I soon ascertained beyond all manner of doubt the truth of Lord Chesterfield's simile, that, “the proof of the pudding is the eating of it,” and also proved that the general was a man of honour, above flattery, and had spoken nothing but the truth in his laudatory ejaculations—“What a savoury bit!—delicious!—superlatively rich!”—which “nobody can deny” who has the good fortune to taste *carne con cuéro*.

This favourite luxury, peculiar, I believe, to South America, is thus described in Miller's Memoirs. “The moment a bullock is killed, the flesh on each side of the spine, beginning at the rump, is cut out with enough of the hide to meet or lap over, so as to prevent the juices from escaping: it is then covered with embers, and roasted like a potato.” It is a dish deserving a first rank in the eminently distinguished pages of the *Almanachs des Gourmands*.

Of the handsome ladies of La Paz, I am bound to mention *La Señora Generala*, the prefect's blooming

young wife, with whose worthy and respectable family I was acquainted at Potosi. She did me the favour to present me from her collection of beautiful birds with one highly famed for its wonderful singing, and, when domesticated, for its familiar and diverting qualities. It is here called *tordo*, about the size of our blackbird, but of more graceful form, and entirely of the most lustrous jet black. These birds are seldom confined in cages, but suffered to run about the rooms and passages as they please, which they do without fear of cat or dog; and although they run under foot, they are too sagacious and too much on the alert to be trampled upon.

The *tordo* is common in Chile, but it is, I imagine, of a different species from these, which are brought from Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and which, from the difficulty of conveying in safety over the cold regions of the Cordillera, sell readily at La Paz for twenty and thirty dollars each. I hired an Indian for the express purpose of carrying mine in all the luxury I could devise for its comfort, and he succeeded in delivering it safe at Potosi, but the coldness of the climate there deprived me in a few weeks of my little companion.

The city of La Paz is the great emporium of Peru; all merchandise from the coast of the Pacific is conveyed hither, then carried off by merchants, great and small, to the towns and villages of the interior; and, I must confess, that since I strolled down Cheapside a twelvemonth ago, I have not seen such crowded streets, or so much bustle in the transactions of business. The frontispiece represents an Indian of the district of Potosi, in his gala-dress, bargaining with a Chola of Coshabamba. The sketch was taken from life by a native in La Paz.

English goods are abundant, and are preferred to either French or German manufactures, which seem, however,

to have a very fair share of the market. Every sort of flimsy, tinsel, gewgaw, and cargoes of divers kinds of worthless articles, unsaleable at home, were at first imported by European merchants, in the hope of finding a ready sale here. Whether they did or not is best known to themselves, but now all such articles are duly despised.

I have heard many lamentable complaints in England, and our public papers have been filled with invective, against the South Americans for entrapping John Bull, and obtaining millions of his money under false pretences. But, if the voice of these people could be as easily heard, and their two or three newspapers obtain as extensive circulation as the ten thousand and one of those who accuse and asperse them, I am disposed to believe, that if they could not altogether disprove the alleged charges, they would at least, by any honest jury, be strongly recommended to mercy, on the ground of their being "more sinned against than sinning."

With respect to the *millions* of money said to have been obtained in loans from England, I am aware that those who have been disappointed in the payment of the interest upon the money they subscribed to those loans, can receive but little consolation from being reminded, that only a very small portion of their cash was sent to South America; that the greater part of it may be traced into the coffers of English contractors and English manufacturers of some sort or other. Naval and military clothing and equipments, arms, ammunition, and sundry other supplies, at most exorbitant prices, swelled the accounts against several of the South American states, and quickly consumed the greater part of the amount of the loans. I have seen a sample of many thousand fire arms so furnished, which I am sure any gun manufacturer would gladly supply at one guinea

each ; but, be that as it may, at one shilling they would be a *dangerously* dear article, although twelve to fifteen dollars was the charge for them here.

The Morning Herald, eminently distinguished for its impartiality on these subjects, had the following observations on the Mexican loans, which, with the alteration of a few words, we may be permitted to apply to those of *all* the states of South America, excepting, perhaps, that of Buenos Ayres. "The English loans have been a source of infinite mischief; through them the South Americans have been losing their character abroad, and if they can manage to pay the interest, will be sadly pinched at home. There is little extenuation of the folly of the persons who rushed into these adventures: they are but the counterpart of the mining schemes, but very much blame attaches to those who sweetened the cup's edge before they gave it to the public to drink. The imprudent dispersion of such large sums of money, and its uselessness to the only purposes that could justify the transaction, have produced a disgust in the minds of intelligent men. They think it hard that the country should be taxed to pay the interest of that capital it never received; or, received so *small a part of it*, as to make it quite fair that they should seek a compromise of the debt."

Now, I think it might be distinctly shown, that John Bull, by an extraordinary lapse from that dignity and prudence which has so long distinguished his commercial character among all the nations of the world, did himself, in the first instance, by an unusual and unbecoming precipitancy, encourage those loans, for they were among the greedy and usurious speculations of the day; and that by similar conduct in the second instance, he has occasioned (in a remote degree at least) the suspension of the payment of the dividends.

At the period when those loans were contracted for, associations, under the auspices of individuals enjoying the entire confidence of the public, were formed, and others were every day coming forward, with capitals of MILLIONS sterling, for the purpose of mining and divers other speculations, in South America, promising advantages of really national importance to the new states. These associations, supposed to have been founded upon the usual solidity of British enterprise, and expected to be conducted by British genius and skill, were considered by the South Americans as levers of industry and prosperity, which they themselves had not the power of moving, but which they too sanguinely imagined they should soon see efficaciously applied, and they were induced to speculate upon the probable results.

What these results have been all the world knows; but no one can pretend to say that the Americans had any control over the silly and disastrous proceedings which occasioned them. As in the parallel case of the farmer who cannot pay his rent if his crops fail; so the Americans, from many unforeseen causes, within and without, have been deprived of the resources on which they calculated for paying the interest of their debts. Is it fair to assert, that either in their case, or in that of the farmer, there was any intention or design of defrauding the creditors?

It was calculated on grounds which previous experience justified, that the duties at reasonable rates upon the produce of the mines of Peru, as *proposed* to be worked by British capitalists, would have not only paid the interest of the debt of that state, but speedily the principal. The associations, however, that were formed for the purpose of working those mines, and set out in all the pride, pomp, and splendour of munificent prodigality, suddenly disappeared without any thing farther

being heard of them; they tumbled from their giddy height, and sank into a proportionate degree of degradation, leaving directors and shareholders involved in law, oppressed by debt, beset with duns, and this in some cases without having even attempted the object for which those associations were specifically formed. Enormous sums were expended, which went, not into the pockets of South Americans, as some erroneously imagine, but sometimes into those of the concoctors of the schemes, sometimes into those of contractors for mines, and contractors for cargoes of implements and goods—true Britons all. Neither can the expenditure attending useless establishments, exorbitant salaries, extravagant preparations, and wild goose expeditions, be said to have in any way benefited the South Americans. It would scarcely be fair to debit them with the few thousand pounds that have been expended in their country in the travelling expenses of chief commissioners, even although it may appear that each had unlimited means, and travelled according to his own idea of luxury and enjoyment. One, for instance, accompanied by his secretary of legation, with a suite of other dignitaries, posted in a coach and four, escorted by outriders, and followed by baggage-wagons, laden with portable kitchens, portable beds, portable soups, chronometers, hydrometers, barometers, theodolites, and peppermint drops.* Another, with less *éclat* but more amusement, leisurely pursued his way through *tertulias*, balls, pic-nic parties, dinner parties, and debating societies, charmed with the speeches of orators who in eloquence rivalled Charles Fox.†

* See the starting of the Potosi, La Paz, and Peruvian Mining Expedition from Buenos Ayres.

† See Andrews' South America, vol. i. pp. 89 149 160, 231.

A third, of a very different temperament from either of the foregoing, preferred *rough* riding, and trained himself into such galloping condition upon beef and water, that nothing could kill him,—tired ten and twelve horses a day,*—received “constant falls,” and tumbled harmless, not indeed into gold and silver mines, but into “biscacha holes” when in full gallop, daylight and dark, “riding against time,” across the noble plains of the Pampas.† So inveterate did this mania of galloping become, that we are induced to believe it excited sensations similar to those experienced in cases of hydrophobia, for in “several” attempts to cool the system by plunging into rivers, and “swimming about on horseback,” the water has been abandoned for the “inexpressible delight of galloping without inexpressibles on a horse without a saddle, stark naked along the banks of a river under a burning hot sun.”‡

No important obstacle occurred on the part of the natives of South America, nor to this hour has any objection been *proved* to exist against the feasibility of mining to advantage in that country. The South American mining speculations failed through mismanagement; but, in assigning this as the principal cause, we must not forget the extraordinary infatuation of the times, the outrageous feeling of cupidity which pervaded all ranks, such as probably never before to the same degree disgraced the generous character of British enterprise. In the various transactions of business, sobriety itself “ceased to be sober,” and revelled without heed in the extravagant delusions of the day. Judgment, prudence, caution, method, were all abandoned in the delirium caused by the hope of immediate gain. It seemed as if

* Head's Rough Notes, p. 50.

† Idem, p. 53, 82, 83.

‡ Idem, p. 234, 236.

that accursed fiend avarice had been suddenly let loose, and spread her pestilential influence over all classes of society, inducing a general connivance at even the most disreputable acts of chicane. The ordinary obligations between man and man were hourly infringed with utter indifference; and reputations, till then unimpeached, were thoughtlessly sacrificed to the insatiable thirst of gain. But to return to those acts more immediately connected with mining associations, to which the public frenzy was principally directed. Many purchased shares at exorbitant premiums, with the expectation of returns still more exorbitant, even before it was possible to apply the means by which alone those returns could be made; then, when their greedy hopes met with a delay that in their excitement was never contemplated, the shares were re-sold at a ruinous discount, and the schemes abandoned on the groundless pretext of their unworthiness. Others, hoping suddenly to enrich themselves at the expense of their neighbours within the convenient precincts of the stock exchange, thought little of speculations beyond the Atlantic, the results of which were too tardy for their ungovernable impatience. These indiscretions and misdemeanours, coupled with general mismanagement, caused a reaction in the public mind, terminating in despair and disgust: the sudden effects of which, no less disastrous in the new world than in the old, led to a general subversion of all schemes, plans, and projects, whether ill or well devised. Then followed defalcations in the payment of instalments; forfeiture of shares; protesting of bills; cancelling of contracts, and abandonment of enterprises, even upon the spot, (as Miller justly observes on the subject of mines in Peru,) "where nature had provided the means of ample remuneration, had prudence been consulted, foresight employed, and economy adhered to."

On the subject of *failure*, we should also bear in mind that, at the period to which I have alluded, there was a convulsion in the money market of England, and a panic throughout the commercial world, unparalleled in its effects, and calculated at the time to overthrow the most promising designs.

Admitting, however, every objection to the continuation of South American mining pursuits at the before-mentioned period, there is not one of them that proves, as some have asserted, that the speculation is *impracticable*; nor do they refute the arguments of those, who, having had a *fair opportunity of judging*, insist that, under proper management, success would have been certain.*

As the companies of 1825 seemed all to vie with each other in expense, one or two items will suffice to show, not only how their capitals were lavished, but also that the money was *not* "buried in America."

An Englishman obtained on his own account certain mines in a district, in the immediate neighbourhood of other mines which had been previously purchased by a company in London; aware of the mining mania at home he returned thither, and disposed of his interest in them to a mercantile house for the sum of £50,000. This interest was afterwards resold (with a liberal commission no doubt) to the company previously established; who, out of their large capital, thought little in those speculating days of such a sum for two or three additional mines, even though already in possession of more than they could work.

I have heard from good authority, that in one Company a solicitor's bill amounted to nearly £10,000, of

* This seems to obtain substantial corroboration from the recent revival of one or two of the Mexican Mining Associations, after all the disasters attending their lavish expenditure.

which the government had a fair share of profit, for one item was £1000 for stamps. It must be observed, that this Company had been involved in three lawsuits.

The expenses of the Potosi Association, as improvident as those of any Company that was formed, though probably a less amount per share has been paid than at any other, may be calculated, first and last, at £70,000, of which I can testify that not one twelfth part has been expended on mines or mining. A great portion of the cargo already spoken of was furnished by a London house, and our chief commissioner has affirmed, that on a comparison of invoices, it appeared to have been charged from twenty to thirty per cent. too high. Certainly, the Americans had no benefit in these and similar transactions; nor can it be pretended that those sums were expended on the mines, or "buried in America."

When I arrived at La Paz, Baron Czettritz had left it to visit the mines to which allusion has been already made, and did not return until the 3rd of October, when, in half an hour's interview, as I had anticipated, he saw the propriety of abandoning the projects he had in view, and of adopting my advice to return to Potosi; but as he required a day or two to prepare for the journey, I set out without him.

On taking leave of my kind and worthy host Don Manuel, whose house was my home, and at whose well-spread table I dined when I pleased, many apologies were made for what he called the "inattention of his lady to the comfort of her guests, which, from what he had read, and the information he had obtained upon the good-breeding and education of English ladies, must appear strange and uncourteous to an English gentleman." This remark of Don Manuel's proceeded from

extreme good nature, added to a knowledge, no doubt of the *algo viva* disposition of his spouse. But, although it is certain that the lady never troubled her head about me in any way, it really did not attract my observation: my most particular wish in any house being to be "let alone," and suffered to dispose of my hours as I may think most congenial to my taste, I seldom seek to be entertained by the host or hostess, but estimate their hospitality in proportion to the liberty I am permitted to enjoy. Under this impression, I am myself unwilling to impose restraint by forcibly inflicting my company upon others, merely for the sake of shamming the agreeable; which I hold to be the most disagreeable favour that can be either given or received, and never fails to bring on a fit of successive yawns, that no forced smile can suppress, no hand, no handkerchief conceal, and against which the only remedy is—to pack up and be off.

With respect to *la Señora patrona*, I never saw her except at dinner, when she sat at the head of her table, and I beside her, in the place assigned me on her left; Don Manuel sitting on the lady's right, and some friend who chose to walk in at dinner-time filled the vice-president's chair; it being what is called an open table, silver covers were laid every day for fourteen or twenty persons, though the family consisted of only five or six. Soup, as with the French, is a never failing preliminary at a respectable American's table; to this the lady helped all her guests, then pulling the capacious soup-dish (for tureens are not in use) close to her, she helped herself as out of her own plate. When I first noticed this striking occurrence, I imagined that it proceeded from a lack of plates, but, on casting a glance round, the piles of silver that stood upon the side-table proved that it was a mere matter of convenience to the

lady herself, and did not in the least deter the guests from sending a second time for pottage, or her from helping it.

There is seldom much time for conversation at one of these dinners, which, from the sitting down to table until rising from it, scarcely occupies an hour. Each gentleman, as he dines, calls for "*fuego*," when an attendant immediately presents him with the *braserito*, or if that happens to be engaged, with a spoon containing a bit of ignited charcoal, at which he lights his cigar; then by degrees the whole party vanish in a cloud of smoke, and for the next hour may be found indulging in the *siesta*.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure from La Paz—Personal alarm and momentary despair—Confidence and consolation—'The very best thing in the world' is in some cases 'the very worst'—Kindness of manner of more avail than a full purse—Return to Potosi—Downfall of the Association.

October 5th, left La Paz for Potosi, and in the evening bore the pelting of a tremendous hail-storm, which, in spite of all sneers at a similar adventure of Baron Munchausen's, positively pursued closely for several miles before it overtook me. It came down with a force that raised the dust along the whole extent of the plain, so as to give it an appearance of the sea when rolling in with fury upon a beach; and on my looking occasionally behind, it conveyed, with no very pleasing sensations, an idea of those waves of moving sand, in which whole caravans have been overwhelmed in the deserts of Africa.

7th. Unpleasant weather with snow and sleet. When about four leagues from the post where I intended to take up my quarters for the night, I was suddenly seized with an illness, accompanied by violent pain, which rendered me utterly unable to endure the movement of my horse, and compelled me to alight and stretch myself on the road side, where I lay full five hours in agony, and with symptoms that led me to suppose I must have burst a blood vessel or ruptured an artery. I confess that I felt a sense of alarm to which I was not accustomed, and even detected myself with downcast head and folded arms, yielding in dejection to the gloomy dictates of that desponding matron Melancholy, 'Goddess of the tearful eye,'—but neither my sorrow, my apprehension, nor my care, was of long duration. In the serious events of life, there are few cases in which the mind may not summon to its aid sentiments of a tendency, not only to soften the severest ills and to banish gloom from the darkest cavern of despair, but to inspire a confidence which the world cannot shake.

" Omnipotent Power !

'Tis thine to lull the agonising hour,
To charm the burden from the soul, and give
The tears that solace and the hopes that live."

In giving to the world a journal of the ordinary occurrences of life, it is difficult to exclude all those which are of a merely personal nature, and as such, frequently have little or no interest for the general reader ; but, to suppress the subjects of our serious thoughts, merely from a feeling of false shame, would, I conceive, be a tacit admission, that our apprehension of the opinions of men was stronger than our reverence for Him, in whom " we live, and move, and have our being." It is an acknowledged truth, that our present and eternal

interests are so inseparable, that one can hardly be treated of without allusion to the other; in the intervals; therefore, of the busiest worldly occupations, momentous reflections will interpose. Life is but a web of "mingled yarn, good and ill together,"—a succession of contrary events from grave to gay, and he who records them must of necessity present similar incongruities in his pages. Be this, then, my excuse, if excuse be requisite, for occasionally turning the thought

"From vain and vile, to solid and sublime!"

Had I been in the midst of a congregation of thousands, under the dome of Saint Paul's, listening with due attention to the soul-inspiring notes of the anthem, the scene, with all its imposing attributes, could not have surpassed in solemnity, or more effectually impressed the mind with devotional feelings, than that in which, on the present occasion, I found myself placed. The dreary solitude of a desert, in pain and sickness, remote from every relief, deprived of the companionship of friend or stranger, was assuredly a situation in which even the severe "who blush at what is right,"—"they who profess to know God, but in works deny him," will scarcely consider it artificial piety, or the mere momentary effusion of a mind alarmed, if a man casually though openly, avows that, in the absence of all earthly aid, he availed himself of the only consolation he had left, that of seeking in the balsamic truths and healing sentiments of religion the mitigation of his pain and the solace of his cares—that he reposed with confidence on the "rod and staff," with which man may safely "walk through the valley of the shadow of death and fear no evil."

We proceeded at a very slow pace, stopping at short distances, but ultimately arrived about midnight at the

post of Aio-eio. There, in the corner of a naked hut, my peones soon made me a luxurious bed of sheepskins, and kindling a fire in the middle of the floor, prepared from a shoulder of lama an excellent broth, which they seasoned highly with *aji*, (capsicum,) as being "the very best thing in the world I could take for *el pujo de sangre*;"* but it was probably the very worst, and I can aver that I felt myself nothing the better for their prescription, which, however, was most conscientiously recommended, and submissively followed from necessity by me. *No hai cosa mejor que aji, creale vd.* (there's nothing better than red pepper, you may depend upon that,) was the consolation I received at every spoonful that was occasionally thrown into the broth as it bubbled on the fire.

6th. The morning commenced with heavy rain; but the state of debility to which I found myself reduced, deprived me of courage to encounter it, and I am inclined to think, that the quiet in which I passed the early part of this day enabled me to perform my journey to Potosi without any thing particular to complain of; for it would be absurd to complain of that which had no remedy, and which I was satisfied was the very best the country afforded, I mean accommodation. To this, scanty as it is, we become reconciled, when we know that, on the other hand, the poor people among whom we find ourselves in defenceless solitude are the most harmless beings upon earth, in whose doorless huts we may lay ourselves down to sleep, with a confidence that bolts and bars do not elsewhere always insure; from whom also the slightest condescension, or any trifling act of kindness, will generally obtain all that is within their little power to give.

* Hæmaturia.

On the present occasion, when I have arrived weary and faint at a Peruvian hut, with what pure feelings of gratitude have I made my acknowledgments to the family, who from sheer benevolence have ceded to me the only little store they possessed; or when one of them, with the rapidity of a deer, has gone sometimes a league distant among the mountains, in pursuit of their goats, and procured me a little milk! Often have I alighted from my horse at an unseasonable hour and asked for milk, offering dollars; the answer invariably was, "*No hai! no hai, Señor!*" They would not take the trouble of getting it for money. But, when I added, ("I am very unwell, my brothers; do me the favour, and God will repay you:")—my feeble voice, pale cheek, and sunken eye, bearing testimony to the truth of what I said, the sire of the family, or the matron, twisting her ball of thread from the silken wool of the vicuña, would then mutter something in Quichua, when instantly, an *olla* (earthenware pipkin) would be seized by one of the younger members, who would glide away in the pursuit of the flock without a question as to payment. And this is savage hospitality!—Could I expect more among the most polished people of the earth?—Should I always have obtained as much?

The youth has now returned, and, quite breathless from his haste, delivers the *olla* into my own hands, then retires among his fellows without any expectation of reward. Upon examining the *olla*, I find remains of the last meal sticking to the sides, boiled maize, or potatoes, or particles of lama broth,—'tis no matter, the milk is delicious! and I am more than thankful.

M. de la Condamine, in his description of the Indians of South America, could not have alluded to the Peruvians, when he remarked, that insensibility among these people is generally prevalent, which, whether to be dig-

nified by the name of apathy, or sunk into that of stupidity, he leaves to the decision of others. "Undoubtedly," continues he, "it is caused by a paucity of ideas which extend no farther than their wants." M. de la Condamine was no slight observer of things; but I cannot think, nor is it probable, that he included the Peruvian Indians in this censure; because all that we know of them, from the remotest period of their history, conveys a very different opinion of those people; and, at the present day, whoever has been among them, must admit that, in their willingness to work as well as in the performance of it, the imputation of apathy or stupidity does not apply to them. Proofs of their industry meet the eye in every valley, and the supplies of every market depend upon their labour. I believe I am not singular in the opinion, that their worst qualities have been *imported*, and that their virtues are their own, not derived from those who for centuries have been blind to their merits, and cared so little about turning them to a better account.

The Peruvian Indians notoriously possess a peaceable, unoffending spirit, free from even an *accusation* of those great moral crimes, the daily commission of which is not prevented by rigorous laws and penalties of the utmost severity among nations renowned for civilisation, and boasting of their superiority, moral and intellectual, above all the nations of the world. We have indeed seen, that, when roused to vengeance, they are, like other people, capable of committing every excess. But is the moment of excitement the period in which we should judge of the character of man? The causes of that excitement, it has been already shown, proceeded from an insufferable yoke of servitude and despotism, against which every remonstrance had proved ineffectual.

And lastly, although that event was a rebellion, and failed in its object, yet, if it had succeeded, it would, beyond a doubt, have been recorded among the glorious events of nations.

Never did any man, from personal observation, so mistake the character of a whole people, as the author of "Travels in Chile and La Plata." "With these people," he says, "is exemplified what will universally be met with over South America, that to confer a favour is to purchase an enemy." Was ever so uncharitable a sentiment uttered by a good, kind hearted man? I appeal to the bitterest enemy of South Americans to testify its utter injustice. Again, that author observes, "they are governed by no moral feelings, but will submit to a haughty, overbearing tyranny, no matter by whom practised." I will not enter into a defence of their morality, which, upon the whole, would probably be found not less pure than that of other nations who have example, precept, and education, to instruct them in their moral duties, whilst here are none of these. But, experience enables me stoutly to deny the concluding accusation, for I have seen, and, on more occasions than one, have myself practised those threats, as silly as they are vain, which hasty persons too often deal in, and none more than *Milor Anglois*, under the mistaken idea of obtaining immediate compliance with their wishes. I have seen, and I have occasionally practised, to my cost and disappointment, a haughty, overbearing manner to postmasters, tradesmen, peones, and other persons in this country, and in no single instance was the object gained by such unbecoming and futile acts of impatience. I have seen offered, and I have myself offered on those occasions, large sums, to show that I was willing to pay for what I required; but no bribe

could obtain it, or induce them to make the slightest exertion in my behalf, after they had been offended and brow beaten; and it must be acknowledged that, if they submit to this "haughty overbearing tyranny," it is not because they want either the power or the opportunity of resenting it, for travellers are in all cases completely at the mercy of the natives. Upon the whole, I think it will be found by every impartial person, that if they have no great virtues to recommend them, neither have they any great vices to cause them to be shunned or abhorred; and we should do well to remember that there is always a greater readiness to expose what is faulty, than to acknowledge what is good.

Potosi, October 12. Here have I arrived early on the eighth day, after a journey of nearly 350 miles with my own horses—good going—but which I am induced to mention, because I have performed an exploit under circumstances, which I have been given to understand, prove fatal in most cases in this country to the strongest constitution, particularly when rest and quiet cannot be obtained. I may therefore be permitted, in terms of deeper import than merely worldly compliment, to congratulate myself on having arrived at home, safe and well—so well that, in the opinion of some perhaps, I ought to blot out all the story of my misfortune, in order to avoid a jeering condemnation for having mentioned in a tone of gravity a merely personal incident, which half the world would have regarded as altogether trivial, and no more have thought of, when once it had passed. I too may have thought but slightly of it, *when once it had passed*, because, transient as the morning dew is the impression which dangers, mercies, and deliverances make upon the hearts of men. Half the world also

may possibly not recollect, that the trivial events of every day, of every passing hour, may determine our state in this world, or remove us beyond it; and that in them, patience and self-government are as requisite, and can be as forcibly displayed as in those of greater importance. He who possesses a mind capable of bearing unruffled the minor molestations of life, can also bear with composure its heavier afflictions; and he who is thus armed, let the darts of adverse fortune be discharged upon him when and whence they may, will undauntedly oppose them, or calmly endure their assaults undismayed.

I found upon my table letters from far and near; some containing offers for the sale of mines, some for working them on terms of mutual accommodation; others containing proposals for supplying timber, fuel, and forage, for our far-famed establishment: the permanency of which seemed insured to the natives by the arrival of the largest and most valuable cargo that ever entered the port of Arica. To these letters I replied in terms of courtesy, concealing, as man is ever wont to do, the reverses which have suddenly hurled him from proud prosperity into humiliation and distress, for I now had authentic information, that such was our fate, as the following extract of a letter from our chiefengineer will clearly testify.

"I am too much agitated with the events of the last few days, to give you any thing like a circumstantial account of what has passed.

"Three of our directors have sent a power of attorney to take possession of the cargo of the Potosi, to pay certain claims; this power was sent by a special messenger from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso, and arrived here about a week ago, when the whole of the cargo was

attached, and, although I protested against it, the order was made absolute. The *Intendente*, indeed I may say all the authorities here, are inclined to do every thing in their power to favour us ; but there was no possibility of doing any thing on my mere *ipse dixit* against such apparently regular papers as were presented.

“ Upon seeing the authorities under which this act took place, I was quite thunderstruck ; but, by a little manœuvre, I managed to sell the whole of the quicksilver, in order to enable me to support the people here.”

Upon reading the foregoing I felt precisely what the writer mentions with respect to himself—“ I was quite thunderstruck !”

From Lima I received a letter from our chief commissioner, mentioning his intended departure in a few days from that place, and stating, what was no cause of surprise to me, that, “ his voyage to Lima had been completely fruitless. I now see,” said he, “ that the minister of finance of this government is only trifling with me, and it were folly to remain here idle.”

It was folly, in my opinion, to go at all ; and I maintained, from the commencement, the unreasonableness of the expectation of obtaining a reduction of duties from a government that was neither to receive return for the favour, nor was in any way connected with our speculation. Under the existing state of things, the government, the laws, the duties and customs of Lower Peru, have no more to do with those of Upper Peru, where our establishment was to have been fixed, than the laws and customs of the port of Constantinople have to do with those of Petersburgh ; and I am inclined to think, that the Reis Effendi, or the Kisslar Agar, would not long “ trifle” with any stranger who should require the favour of landing a whole cargo, and of driving

three thousand mules laden with goods through the Ottoman dominions "duty free," into the state of a jealous, envious, and envied neighbour, who alone was to derive all the benefit from the importation.

November 1st. There is not probably in the world a town of such extent, and possessing so many inhabitants as Potosi, where there is so little society, and where there are no means of amusement, beyond the resources that persons may possess within themselves. Society is confined, literally, to two or three families of two or three persons, to whose houses we sometimes go for half an hour in an evening to sip *maté* through a tube, to hear a guitar gingled, or to sit on a bench against a wall, wrapped to the chin in our cloaks, replying "*Si, Señor,*" to every body's tale concerning the severity of the cold winds from the south. The ladies, squatting on a rug upon the floor, huddled in a corner, and covered up in their woollen mantles, occasionally press us to take another *maté*, but complete the scene of *ennui*, by their total want of occupation, than which nothing can be more unsightly and repugnant to those who have been accustomed to female society in England; where, from the nursery to the age of spectacles, the needle is actively plied, even until its eye has become undistinguishable to the eyes of the person who employs it, and who may frequently be seen fencing at it in vain with the sharpest pointed thread, until a grand-child, or some accommodating friend, when all hopes of success have failed, kindly undertakes to hit the mark, and thus furnishes the means of pursuing this habitual pastime, infinitely preferred by English ladies to that state which has already been described as a *délicieux repos*.

With respect to the male society, where men have congregated in a place for one single pursuit, one only

object, and where that occupies them from morning till night, it can easily be imagined that neither their conversation nor their thoughts are often turned from the main point. I am inclined to think, from the samples with which I have had the pleasure of being in contact, that in the mining districts of Cornwall, we shall hear nothing in the course of conversation in a long summer's day with any of the gentry there employed, that would leave us room to doubt their daily occupation, or to suppose that, in their opinion, there was any other business in the world than mining. So in Potosi; go where you will, turn where you may, nothing is to be heard but the proceedings of the ingenios, the good or bad run of a recently discovered vein, the superiority of a certain mine; which latter, by the by, I have generally observed, ranks in the estimation of the proprietor in the same degree as a horse is invariably known to do with us: due praise is bestowed upon the merits of our neighbour's, but when we come absolutely to the point of superiority, why, then we are, in justice, bound to assert, that our own has it hollow; in short, there can't be a better horse: in short, there can't be a better mine. Should any person present have sufficient hardihood to doubt the eulogium, and ask why did not this best horse in the world beat such a horse at such a race? or why did he balk at such a leap in such a hunt? it was because he was badly ridden at the first, and because he accidentally fell coming full tilt at the last. So with a mine; when the proprietor is asked why he did not avail himself of the treasures which he avers that it possesses, the answer is, "it accidentally fell in," or, "just as he came to the solid silver, and was about to cut it out of the rock with chisels, the waters

rushed up from below, and obliged him to abandon it.”* In short, we hear very good causes of failure assigned in both cases, but the world, being in these matters addicted to incredulity, will not at all times place implicit faith in those reports.

Now, although it is well known that mining for the precious metals has strong and seductive allurements to those engaged in the pursuit, yet to those who, like ourselves, have been compelled to abandon it, by mismanagement, insolvency, or any other cause, and who have no longer any concern in its proceedings, the living among mines and miners is as uninteresting a life as can well be imagined; and in that case the city of Potosi, affording no sort of recreation, may be considered as an abode of banishment, little preferable to the utmost confines of Siberia.

In addition to the chagrin arising from our disappointment, my companions and myself had long been held in a painful state of suspense respecting the fate of our chief commissioner, of whom it had been reported, on every ground of probability, that the ship in which he sailed from Lima had foundered at sea. It was known that she was in a leaky state, and one or two vessels, which did not sail till several days afterwards upon the same voyage, had long since arrived at Arica, without having seen or heard any thing of the former, nor was it until this day that we had a contra-

* I have repeatedly heard, from those whom I had no reason to doubt, of water rushing into a mine just as its richest vein had been discovered; and I have also been given to understand, that in most mining districts, the richest properties of a silver mine are *below* the water; which in this country, where no machinery has hitherto been used, has in many instances compelled the abandonment of the works at their most promising period.

diction of the report, when the courier from Cusco brought me the following letter from the general.

"Ocoña, 29th September.

"I embrace the opportunity to tell you, that after twenty-seven days of horrible navigation from Lima, I arrived in great distress at Pisco, where I took mules, and, traversing this dreadful desert, I have arrived here, and start immediately to Arica, from whence I will write. Yours truly,

"J. PAROISSIEN."

The precipitate downfall of the Potosi Association, and the embarrassment and misery into which every person connected with it in this country was unexpectedly thrown, will be seen in the following letter, addressed to the directors by our chief commissioner, on his arrival at Arica from Lima.

"In agony of mind little short of madness, I sit down to give you an idea of the state in which I find the affairs of the Company upon my arrival here, owing to three of our directors having embargoed the whole of the cargo of our ship; an embargo has also been laid on the mules that had been more than two months waiting to take that cargo to Potosi. In this state of things, our people starving, and myself and companions without a dollar to purchase even bread, with ruin and destruction appearing on every side, I petitioned the government to allow me to sell part of the cargo to supply our most urgent wants. The result of this representation, I much fear, from the tedious mode of law proceedings in this country, I shall not know for some days; whilst, in the mean time, I have not a dollar to pay my expenses, and clamorous creditors from every quarter, among whom most of the people sent out by the establishment are very prominent, assail me conti-

nually. Messrs. Begg, Atherton, and Co. of this place, to whom I consigned the cargo, and to whose zealous exertions I am much indebted, landed and sold a small part thereof, previous to the embargo, but those funds have been exhausted in maintaining this extensive establishment. It were in vain attempting to give a true picture of all the difficulties which surround me; it is entirely impossible the concern can continue. The cargo, if sold by auction, though extremely valuable to us had we applied it to its original purpose, will not, I am persuaded, under the present circumstances, fetch half the prime cost, and many articles of it will be a total loss; for, besides being little better than rubbish, in comparing our invoices with those of a similar nature consigned to a merchant here, I find a difference against us of at least thirty per cent.

"I trust you will not lose any time in sending me means of subsistence for myself and the few of your servants who must necessarily remain with me, or, if you resolve upon our returning to England, enable us by a remittance to do so.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"J. PAROISSIEN."

In a subsequent letter to the directors, our chief commissioner thus writes:—

"An agent of Don Felix Castro has arrived here, to claim forty thousand dollars for disbursements, damages, and difference of exchange, &c. on the bill for £12,000, which I drew from Buenos Ayres. It is the intention of this agent to lay a re-embargo on the whole of the property belonging to the Association: so that, although I should succeed in the first instance, and have the cargo restored, I must ultimately yield to Castro. The consequence will be a total loss of all the

property here, and unfortunately this is not the only demand against us. The parties to whom I sold the mules of the Association, under a special contract that they should have the conveyance of our cargo to Potosi, now claim half the freight, in consequence of my inability to fulfil that contract; and by the laws of the country they have a right to the claim."

The following is a translation of the sentence pronounced by the judge at Arica, in the case of the embargo.

"According to documents sworn and approved, I declare that there appears no cause for the execution on the cargo of the ship Potosi, because it belongs to the mining society established in London, and it has not been proved that the three charterers had power and authority to make it over to their agent on account of freight, as application ought to be made in London for the full payment of the freight, where the claim has to be examined, according to a contract which appears to have been acknowledged by the Association, and could not be revoked nor altered by the three partners without special authority to that effect from the said Association, which does not appear to have been given by any of the documents presented. Therefore, deliver up the whole of the cargo to the consignee and legal representative of the Association, together with costs, in which I condemn the plaintiffs."

The costs, I believe, have never been repaid, but the cargo thus snatched from the hands of the agent of the charterers, fell instantly into those of the agent of Castro; and of that same cargo, which cost the Association, freight included, at least thirty thousand pounds, not so much as a *twopenny tack* was applied to the object for which it was purchased; nor was any part of it ever in

the possession of any individual belonging to the society at Potosi, and I am still ignorant of the particulars of its sale and dispersion.

The introduction of numerous extracts from letters and documents concerning the proceedings of the Potosi Mining Association, must no doubt prove altogether uninteresting to many of my readers; but I trust it will be remembered that there are also many who have been deeply interested in those proceedings, and expect to be informed of the causes of their failure. I moreover consider it an act of duty to the proprietors, and of justice to myself, to give, in addition to my own observations, such extracts from the general correspondence as may tend to elucidate the subject, and which I also consider to be the mode least likely to excite doubt as to the correctness and impartiality of my statements. I therefore feel assured, that I may continue to introduce them without offending my "numerous" readers, particularly as I promise to do so only when I have nothing better to present them.

November 19th. Mr. Garda has this day returned from Arica, where there was no longer any employment for him, and where he left the members of our establishment in a state of distress truly deplorable. On landing at Arica, each individual received for his support nine dollars per week, which was soon after reduced to seven, then to five, then to three, and latterly to—nothing at all. Wearing apparel, watches, rings, and sundry other articles, were hawked about the streets of Arica and Tacna by the necessitous owners, who, but a few weeks before, having landed in high health and spirits, and full of hope as to their future fortune, imagined themselves on the high road to riches, and expected rather to add to their little store of luxuries, than to

be reduced to sell them at any price for the purpose of obtaining a bit of bread.

Great as the perplexities really were into which we found ourselves so unexpectedly thrown, they were not a little increased by a despatch received at this period from the directors; the nature of it was such that not one of us, nor all of us put together, had sagacity to discover the real object or intentions of the Board at the time it was written, or what it was they expected us, their humble servants, to perform. Their despatch commenced in unqualified terms of approbation of our first proceedings; then expressed their assurance of our being able to obtain mines with facility in Peru, but at the same time they sent us a list of no less than nineteen of their own choosing in London, situated, too, in a far distant province, although, in a previous despatch, they had given positive injunctions that we were to confine ourselves strictly to Potosi. The tendency of their letter, and the impression it conveyed while I perused it, was such, that before I read it half through my heart palpitated with joy, in the full conviction that all differences had been settled at home, and that funds in abundance were at last forthcoming. But, after giving us their nineteen mines, with orders to hire scientific persons to amalgamate the ores, and to appoint an additional agent at Potosi, my confusion and dejection were sad, sudden, and distressing, when I read in plain terms that I must not expect one shilling of money! With nineteen new mines of silver, what more could we want?—out of them we were at liberty to help ourselves.

The letter was accompanied by one from our home secretary, inclosing, as a boon for our services, a number of letters of recommendation, from I don't know

whom in London, to the Lord knows whom in different parts of South America, together with high encomiums on the merits of Don Emanuel Vasques de Velasco, and also with splendid accounts of the weekly produce of mines in Potosi, which, it was supposed, we upon the spot were not likely to be so accurately acquainted with as persons in and about the Stock Exchange; therefore, those accounts were sent across the Atlantic to us, as a sort of information *secret and confidential*.

CHAPTER VII.

Negotiation of a loan—Irritability of temper rudely evinced—Unquestionable security for money lent—Festival of *el Nacimiento*—Friar Alonzo Ovalle—Proof of increase of revenue by a reduction of duties.

December 3d. Time hangs heavily on my hands, I may therefore occupy a few minutes in recording a transaction which has been the means of affording substantial relief in a period of considerable embarrassment. A few months back, Don Mateo Lino and Don Pedro Castellano called on me, requesting a thousand dollars to send to Buenos Ayres, for which they "were willing to pay an interest of four per cent. so long as it remained in their hands."—"Four per cent!" said I, contemptuously; "Four per cent! you may go elsewhere and borrow money at four per cent. for a dollar of mine you shall never have, I promise you *that*," and turned my back upon the gentlemen in rather an ungracious manner. "Cavallero," said one of them mildly, "we are not aware of having in any way offended by our application; pray let nothing more be said about the matter, and suf-

fer us to part friends.”—“Friends! pretty friends, indeed! to design to take my money at four per cent.”—“We do assure you, Cavallero, that in our long course of business, this is the first time we ever offered so high an interest; we have always readily obtained money at two, two and a half, and never paid more than three per cent.”—“What do you take me for?—but—no matter—I—I wish you good morning,” said I, turning to walk away.—“Pray, sir, don’t suffer so trifling a subject to occasion so much irritation,” said one of the gentlemen, laying his hand in a gently entreating manner on my arm. “Pooh! pooh!” said I, withdrawing myself hastily from him, “do you imagine I am not aware that fifteen per cent. can be easily obtained on the best security?”—“*Quanto?*—how much?” said both gentlemen, startled and frowning with inquisitive amazement, as they repeated “*Quanto?*” To which, in a much louder tone than was by any means requisite, I replied—“Fifteen per cent. I say, can be easily obtained.”—“*Quinze por ciento!*” exclaimed both gentlemen, making at the same time the sign of the cross, as is customary in surprise or astonishment.—“What! do you doubt me?” said I, and in starting up, overturned my chair, trod upon my dog—hang the dog—moved books, papers, pens, and ink, and jumbled them all together, as if life depended on the instant possession of the keys, which, in my hurry, I searched for (as is usual in such cases,) every where but where they were to be found. At length, pulling them from out of my pocket, (for there they were of course,) I opened my portmanteau, and produced a document which proved beyond a doubt that I was in the receipt of fifteen per cent. for a sum of money that I had lodged with a respectable house in Buenos Ayres. The gentlemen took the document in their hands and perused it leisurely, then suddenly throwing it down, they exclaimed—“*Quinze*

por ciento ! Si, Señor, this is indeed fifteen per cent. but it is fifteen per cent. *per annum* ! We offer you treble that interest."—"Oh! ho! now I comprehend you, gentlemen, four per cent. *per month* is what you offer." Really I did not at first understand their proposition, nor did I know before, that forty-eight per cent. *per annum* could be fairly and openly obtained for the loan of money.

"Pray is this customary?" said I.—"No, we never knew it to exceed three per cent.; the great scarcity of money has raised it to what it is; but two and a half per cent. has for some time past been the usual rate of interest in the *Calle del Comercio* of Potosi," which we may call the Royal Exchange, as there the merchants transact all their concerns. The cause of this high rate of interest is attributed to the large sums that have been extracted from Peru for Buenos Ayres, where the paper currency, recently resorted to, has raised gold and silver to a premium so excessively high as to encourage the importation of it by every possible means.

Situated as I was at the period of this application, the chief commissioner's draft protested, no pecuniary relief to be expected from England, and our public credit gone, I resolved to avail myself of an opportunity that seemed likely to avert that utter state of distress into which recent events had already thrown many belonging to our establishment, and which now threatened us all. Independently of some little personal credit that remained to me in Potosi, the document I produced to the gentlemen proved that I had a private fund in Buenos Ayres, against which I said that I was willing to give a draft for 1000 dollars, and that "I should feel perfectly satisfied with what appeared to be the usual rate of interest, namely, two and a half per cent. *per month*, on condition that the money should be repaid on giving a month's notice,

and that, in the mean time, security should be given for the principal."—"Corriente," said the gentlemen, who seemed pleased with the terms.—"Vamonos," said I, who was equally so, and immediately I drew my first, second, and third bill of exchange, expressing that it was to be paid in hard dollars and not in paper currency, whilst they drew and signed an acknowledgment to the following effect: "We have received the sum of one thousand dollars from *el Señor Secretario*, at the rate of two and a half per cent. per month, and promise to return the principal on a month's notice being given."

I looked at this document for some moments in silent surprise, and then said—"What sort of security do you call this?"—"That is quite sufficient; perfectly legal; the law requires no other," was the reply. "That may be, gentlemen, but it is not quite sufficient for me, and I beg to inform you that I require some better security for my principal than this scrap of paper."—"Oh! *perdonada*, that is merely as to the nature of our agreement; the security for your principal you shall have immediately." Don Pedro then put his head out of the door and called "Francisco! Come in here, Francisco!" when instantly a mulatto slave entered the room, and throwing down from his shoulders a load which he had in a sack, Don Pedro said—"There, sir, is your security."

"What the *diablo* kind of security is this?" said I, moving the bag, the contents of which rattled like theatre-thunder, when badly manufactured. "That," said Don Pedro, "is the security usually given in this country, and I think you will find it ample."

Francisco being now ordered to empty the sack, he took it by the bottom and shook out every thing that was within it into the middle of the floor, and then proceeded to count the articles, which were set down in a list as follows:

Six silver dishes, value, in dollars	336
Eight silver plates	195
Eight forks and ten spoons	60
One <i>braserito</i> , for holding lighted charcoal for cigars	20
Three gold <i>maté</i> cups	145
Three gold <i>bombillos</i> (tubes for imbibing <i>maté</i>)	25
Nine silver spurs	60
Two silver drinking cups	30
One silver London watch	5
One ear ring of fine pearls	50
Two chocolate pots and wash-hand basin	70
One utensil, of very common use	40
One painting of Saint Antonio, in a silver frame	20

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The foregoing articles were, according to custom, estimated at their intrinsic value, not at what they might have originally cost, so that this species of security for the principal of money lent is unquestionable; and, upon failure of the terms of the bond, the articles may be sold by public auction under a judge's warrant for the benefit of the lender. The only article that I thought over-valued was the London watch, which I refused to receive at more than one dollar, but I was obliged to yield to arbitration, on the ground that the nine spurs—from the accident of none of them being fellows, besides being of the make and shape of the time of Pizarro, and not suitable to the taste of the present century—were considerably undervalued: and indeed these objections were amply counterbalanced by their great weight of *plata pura*, pure silver. It was impossible for me to deny the weight of the argument, and therefore I received the London watch, which, with dishes, plates, pearls, forks, spoons, spurs, gold *maté* cups, Saint Antonio, the silver

utensil, *et cætera, et cætera*, was put back into the sack, and then thrown into a corner of the room, there to remain until the principal should be repaid, or in failure thereof, to be submitted to the hammer of the auctioneer.

I have heard, that in India it is not unusual to obtain an annual interest of 12 and 15 per cent. and upwards, on the loan of money, but in Peru and Buenos Ayres 25 per cent. may be seen quoted in their newspapers as the current rate of interest, and for short periods 3 or 4 per cent. *per month* is obtained without difficulty. The present government of Bolivia have recently borrowed from a merchant in Potosi seventy thousand dollars, at 3 per cent. *per month*.

But to return to my security-sack. When all prospect of relief was cut off, and times became harder and harder, I gave the stipulated notice to Don Mateo and Don Pedro, that I required the payment of my principal. Several weeks passed away after the expiration of the period of that notice, but no notice was taken of it. I had the power, and, I must confess it, the inclination, of applying for the judge's warrant and proceeding to auction; but that is considered so ungracious an act, that few have recourse to it, unless in the last stage of necessity. I was moreover on terms of acquaintance with Don Mateo and Don Pedro, who were both, to say the truth, very good fellows, but when beset with inconveniences, I have more than once felt extremely sorry that such was the case.

Whenever I chanced to meet them in the street, I was sure of being presented with a pinch of snuff by Don Mateo, or with the choicest cigar in the cigar-case of Don Pedro; my health was at the same time enquired after with a degree of anxiety that must have proved me a hard-hearted wretch not to have felt gratitude for the kind interest so warmly manifested by my friends. My

rage for collecting minerals was well known to them, and ten to one that they had not a specimen of some sort in their pocket to present to me; if they had not, they were in daily expectation of receiving several of the finest quality: river gold, from Tipuani; native silver, from Aullagas; gold in quartz, from Chayanta; native iron, from Atacama, were all forthcoming. It must not be supposed that this was the artful conduct of knaves endeavouring to deceive; the security-sack is a sufficient proof that they could have had no such intention. It was merely the best possible mode of apologizing for their want of punctuality; credit is not considered to be impaired by postponing for a little time the payment of a bill or the performance of a bond. Sometimes, indeed, this license is too freely taken, and the general practice of it proves, that regularity, or method, in business, is not yet established in this country. I believe, however, that these pecuniary transactions seldom terminate dishonourably; my own case, I am bound to say, did not, for this day I received my money and restored the sack.

Christmas day. For several weeks past, every artist and mechanic of tolerable ingenuity has been employed in making and repairing dolls, images, and figures of sundry kinds, also in setting up and painting altars in every respectable house; whilst all the females have been equally busy in preparing dresses for those dolls, making artificial flowers and embroideries, and embellishing the best apartment in their respective houses, for the display of what is here termed *el Nacimiento* (the birth of Christ,) for which every family of respectability makes preparation with a diligence, anxiety, interest, and fuss, scarcely to be exceeded by that which precedes a fancy ball among our fashionables in England. The fanciful display of taste, the splendour of the dresses, and the variety of costume, is as conspicuous in the

one case as in the other. If we have all the metamorphoses of fairy tales and tales of genii, all the heroes and heroines of history and romance, personified in the enchanting precincts of a fancy ball for the purpose of mirth and pleasures, we have in the *Nacimientos* of Potosi, under the grave and solemn character of religion, and with the most decorous observance, a *fantoccini* display of the most distinguished event in sacred writ. We have the adoration of the shepherds, strictly represented with all their rustic attributes; we have the Magi and the kings in gorgeous apparel, accompanied by their respective trains, mounted upon elephants, camels, horses, and asses, bearing baskets of fruit and other presents, all journeying to Bethlehem to pay their homage to the infant Saviour of the world, whose sacred image is not here to be seen in a lowly manger, but in a cradle of pure silver, sometimes of pure gold, and the drapery covered with the most costly jewels. On either side of the cradle are images of the Virgin Mother and her husband Joseph, with crowns of gold upon their heads, and their robes profusely covered with diamonds, and pearls, and precious stones. Over the cradle may be seen engraved on a plate of gold, "Glory to God on high!" and all round, suspended by means of delicate wires from the ceiling, are angels, cherubim, and seraphim, floating in the air, supposed to be rejoicing with "song and choral symphony" at the tidings of peace and good will to men. The apartment in which this highly venerated exhibition takes place is strewn with artificial flowers, and arranged for the accommodation of visitors, who go in parties full dressed from house to house to view them with every feeling of devotional obligation.

30th. Accompanied a party to the top of the *cerro*,

and experienced very sensibly the effects of my residence in this climate from the facility with which I was able to ascend, compared with others who had recently arrived. Among the latter, one gentleman in particular, suffered considerable pain in respiration, and at times actually gasped in agony for breath, which ultimately compelled him to leave the *cerro*.

Just as we were about to descend, a snow storm, that had been gathering, suddenly burst over the mountain top in a tremendous crash of thunder, which rolled round us in a circle, and gradually descended to the plains below, where we beheld the unusual sight of a storm raging at our feet, whilst immediately above us the sky was serene and clear. The lightning darted with a whizzing noise round the base of the mountain, and every flash was followed by a deafening peal as quickly as the report of a gun follows the ignition of the powder.

At the close of the year 1826, I made up my accounts and forwarded them to the Directors, accompanied by a letter, from which the following are extracts.

"Although the cargo of the ship has escaped the fangs of the first who pounced upon it, it will all be swallowed up by Don Felix Castro and other claimants. We, your servants here, have no chance of support from it,—our only hope of succour is from England; we cannot expect much from the proceeds of the sale of ores, and some very few articles on hand, none of which will fetch half of what they cost us. Besides, when goods are sold for the mere purpose of obtaining means of subsistence, the owners must take what they can get without any consideration of their value.

"The embargo has completely overthrown all the

hopes of this Association. The effects of previous mismanagement might have been retrieved, but this last merciless act is altogether irremediable. Those of the directors from whom it has proceeded may exult in their ill advised, unfeeling combination, for it has, indeed, proved fatally successful. Strong, however, as our indignation is, at the discredit and disgrace into which we have been so unexpectedly thrown, there shall be no failure in our duty to your Board.

"I now inclose for your information an abstract of my accounts with the chief commissioner, from the time he transferred to me the management of your concerns in Potosi down to the present date.

"I had express directions to advance freely for the purchase of timber, lime, charcoal, barley, and other articles, 'to the amount of ten thousand dollars,' under the idea that all would have been speedily required. Fortunately, I did not take an inconsiderate advantage of this authority, which enables me now to present my accounts, without leaving, in any business in which I was concerned, one single outstanding debt against the Association, and which, I confess, I mention with some degree of exultation, when I consider how suddenly I was deprived of every resource in the midst of very expensive operations, actively carrying on in confident expectation of the arrival of our large establishment, consequently I could not have anticipated that the objects of the Association were not to be carried into effect."

All my disbursements during eight months, including the clearing out and working of three mines, repairs of a great part of the amalgamation works, high salaries to numerous individuals, expenses of about twelve hundred miles of different journeys, advances on contracts

for timber, barley, and many *et cætera, et cætera*, amounted to 15,427 dollars, or £3,085 sterling, a sum sufficient to make every requisite *preparation* for carrying into effect, on a liberal scale, the object of any well conducted mining establishment in Peru, and clearly proving that there is no necessity for such enormous capitals as we have seen subscribed for the purpose of mining in South America.

It appears from the books of the *Administrador* of the national bank of Potosi, that, in the year just ended, there has been purchased in his department 177,127 marcs of *plata pina*, (silver in a pure state,) from the mines of this mountain, and those of the districts of Portugalette and Chayanta. The value, according to the London market, equals £350,000 sterling, which might be easily quadrupled with moderate capital, judgment, and skill; the above is derived from accumulated scrapings of many needy individuals, employing a few thousand dollars for the means of mere subsistence, beyond which they have not funds to work. This circumstance is alone sufficient to prove, not only that the mines here are not exhausted, but that, by a very partial working, they produce no inconsiderable sum.

The following abstract from the books of the custom house of Potosi may be considered, on the subject of political economy, a fair example of the disadvantages of excessive duties to the revenue of a state, and of the improvement that follows when they are reduced to moderation.

In the year 1825, the duties on European goods were sixteen per cent. and the amount on those imported *via* Buenos Ayres into Potosi was 26,255 dollars. On those imported from the ports of the Pacific 1,625. A total of 27,880 dollars.

In the beginning of the year 1826, the duties were reduced one half, that is to say, to eight per cent. when the amount on goods imported *via* Buenos Ayres, was 32,826 dollars. On those imported from the ports of the Pacific 5,955. A total of 38,781 dollars.

Thus the reduced duties gave an immediate increase of eleven thousand dollars to the revenue, in the single town of Potosi. Those goods, French and English, but by far the greater proportion English manufactures, to which a decided preference is given, consisted chiefly of coloured cottons, calicoes, and muslins, cloths, crockery ware, iron, and steel, all for the consumption of Potosi and the immediate neighbourhood. Small as the amount of duties may appear, I am of opinion that the consumption of goods here must be very considerable, for the quantity that has been poured into the markets for the last two or three years is quite incredible. Every body became a shopkeeper, and every house had an apartment convenient to the street, filled with European goods, which might be purchased, at one period, literally as cheap as in the cheapest markets of Europe. The competition was so great among European merchants, in forcing their goods on these people, that but little profit could have been realised, and often none at all. The circumstance, however, may ultimately prove beneficial to the former, as the facility with which goods could be obtained by all classes of society has been the cause of the consumption of the whole, and has occasioned a taste for them, which is very likely to be permanent; and probably a little more prudence and circumspection will be observed in supplying them in future, so as to prevent a collision ruinous to the interests of the fair trader.

CHAPTER VIII.

Exertions of men in the cause of others, however zealous, condemned when unsuccessful—Dissolution of the Potosi mining establishment—A card of excuse—Stagnant state of existence—Unceasing change in the government of the South American States—Domestic concerns—*Mock doctors*.

January 1, 1827. Whoever has read "Reports relating to the failure of the Rio Plata Mining Association," although he may disagree with the author on some important points, yet must admit, that under the difficulties with which that active officer had to contend, every step was conscientiously taken, according to the best of his judgment, for the interest and benefit of the association he represented. Himself a man of honour, he cared only for the opinions of such, and, assured of these, he acted, sometimes indeed with precipitancy, but always with a confidence that he was performing his duty.

By practising all the good, and avoiding the few errors of such a line of conduct, it might be supposed that a man could hardly fail in gaining the approbation of all parties. The chief commissioner of the late Chilian and Peruvian company, seems as nearly as possible to have done so ; but still he was found fault with, and his proceedings were disapproved. Such is the injustice of men, that they view as a crime even the desire to please, when that desire, strenuous as it may have been, has not succeeded. The reflection is certainly disheartening ; but it is requisite to bear in mind, that although we cannot command approbation, we should never relax in our exertions to deserve it. This sentiment encourages me now to steer forward in a course which I consider to be for the benefit of my employers, and which, as such, I deem it my duty to pursue.

Having maturely considered the situation in which the affairs of the Association have been thrown, and seeing no prospect of relief, I resolved to break up the whole Potosi establishment, and thereby effect a very important saving in salaries alone. In pursuance of this resolution, I wrote a few friendly lines to my companions in adversity, Baron Czettritz and Mr. Scriviner, stating that the reduction of the establishment being imperatively called for, I found myself reluctantly compelled to give them notice that their services were no longer required.

This proceeding occasioned no small degree of surprise to my two friends, and added to the deep annoyance they already experienced, in common with all concerned, from the calamitous turn our affairs had so suddenly taken. They soon, however, reconciled themselves to the event; and their own zealous performance of what they considered their duty, added to their high sense of integrity, prevented them from viewing this act of authority as in the slightest degree unfriendly on my part.

Baron Czettritz, from his practical mining intelligence, skill, and general information, all of which, in the opinion of the natives, were considerably enhanced by that affability of manner before alluded to, and which is the best passport through this country, acquired many friends, who had spread their good report respecting his abilities into distant mining districts, whence he received proposals for re-modelling or conducting sundry establishments, some of which he thought likely to prove beneficial to his views.

Mr. Scriviner, having profited fairly by the liberal education he had received in the medical profession, which he occasionally practised at Potosi with considerable success, retired to Salta, where, at the express invitation of many respectable families of that town, he es-

tablished himself; and possessing, as he does, those good qualities which seldom fail to acquire friends, he is as likely to make his way through the rugged journey of life, on which he has only just entered, as any young man in his situation, for he carries with him the esteem and good wishes of all who know him.

15th. This day I invited to dinner a few friends to meet the prefect of the department, and the gallant soldier, General Cordova. Among those friends was Señor V., Doctor of Laws, and secretary to the government, who, to my card of invitation, returned a reply which may be found closely Englished in old Francis Quarles—

“Behold these rags—am I a fitting guest
To taste the dainties of thy noble feast,
With hands and face unwash’d, ungirt, unblest?”

That the foregoing is not a very loose paraphrase of the original, may be seen by a glance at the literal translation.

“Doctor V. is extremely grateful to Don Edmondo for his friendly summons to his feast (*festin*); but Doctor V., not having shaved for some days, and being so very dirty, (*sucio*) he begs to be excused from appearing among decent people (*gente decente*.”)

I readily excused my friend, and from the general good humour and hilarity of the whole company, except the giver of the feast, there was no reason to suppose that the absence of the unshaved, unwashed, uncombed doctor, was in any way regretted. Except myself, the whole company seemed to enjoy their entertainment with feelings of mirth and merriment. I struggled hard to do so too, but every attempt was fruitless; an unseemly distortion of the muscles about the mouth was the best attempt I could make to laugh at a good joke, and tended only to prove the extreme difficulty of wearing a

face of pleasure with a heart of pain ; a difficulty which I have sometimes succeeded in overcoming, and thought I could do so here, but in vain.

The state of harassing perplexity into which I was thrown by our sudden and unexpected reverse of fortune, became doubly distressing from the presence of *ennui* in its most lugubrious character. I found myself for the first time in my life in a stagnant state of existence, in which Time itself seemed to pause, or stole with leaden steps so tediously along, as to leave no other feeling than dreariness and weariness to the exiled mind. It was not a feeling of cankering care, nor pain, nor sorrow : dire as the disappointment really was, yet was there no peculiar ill, no personal grievance to mourn ; still less was the want of society a cause of deep regret to me, for I am not one of those

“ Who find it solitude to be alone.”

But there was no occupation, no means of spinning out the hours, nothing to invite to the enjoyment of retirement, nothing to excite a single sensation of interest or pleasure : an unvaried dulness lingered on every day. Nature herself is here divested of that marvellous variety so peculiarly her own, and exhibits in the scenery around one only aspect of sullenness and gloom. Above, the sky is generally without a cloud or tinge to vary its expanse of blue ; and though it cannot be looked on without admiration, yet it soon ceases to attract, or when we gaze on it, splendid as the view is, we feel that a something is wanting to relieve the monotonous effect. So it is with the still features of inanimate beauty : when we become accustomed to them, admiration ceases ; we then seek for, and prefer the mind and accomplishments which constitute the true charms of society, and make companionship endearing.

The political events of the country have latterly considerably increased the unpleasantness of our situation. All communication with the lower provinces has been effectually cut off by insurgent chiefs, who permit no correspondence whatever with Buenos Ayres, the channel through which we have been accustomed to receive our letters from Europe; therefore, to us, those heartfelt consolations from distant friends, may be fairly considered hermetically sealed.

The mania of unceasing change, which has so conspicuously marked the conduct of the South Americans in their plans and modes of government, unhappily continues unabated, and has recently extended with a violence that has again thrown into convulsion nearly the whole of this vast continent.

A few months ago the province of Tarija became a subject of dispute between the government of Buenos Ayres and Bolivia, when the latter despatched an armed force under Colonel O'Connor, who took possession of it, and soon afterwards, owing to his judicious and conciliatory conduct, that fine province submitted peaceably and unanimously to Bolivia. Since that period, disturbances have taken place in Lima, where General Santa Cruz, placing himself at the head of the army, has declared the government, as established by Bolivar, to be at an end, and requires the republic of Bolivia, to which the liberator gave his name, to join the revolutionary standard. The latter, aware of its inability to oppose the forces of Lower Peru, and change after change being the order of the day, must in turn submit to the strongest party.

The provinces of Salta, Tucuman, Santiago, Cordova, and Rioja, are now a prey to civil war, having taken the field one against the other, under the mistaken notions of patriotism and liberty. It is these sadly abused terms that have kept the whole of South America for several

years past in continual disquiet; every state has had its share of those restless characters,

“Who for freedom idly rave,
And set no bounds to what they crave,
But still for freedom bawl.”

Dissatisfied with every act that does not emanate from themselves, they fancy themselves the advocates of liberty, and instigate endless intrigues to thwart the measures of government, with no other design than to thrust themselves into power, which (when they have acquired it) they have neither capacity to employ, nor the valour to retain. The mass of the people are weary of these commotions, and in many places seem disposed to unite to put down the authors of them, who, with a few hundred bayonets at their command, have kept, and still keep the country in disorder and alarm, though without any very sanguinary consequences, or loss of life, which I have heard lamented by the advocates of peace! Because, say they, if some few heads were occasionally taken off, the example would keep others quiet; but the bloodless struggles which constantly occur, are encouraged by the actors being suffered to escape with impunity.

The republic of Bolivia is probably not destined to remain an independent state; its geographical position, as well as its most prudent policy, seems to demand a junction with Lower Peru; and if this takes place with the good will of all parties, and they finally succeed in establishing a government, combining energy with mildness, firmness with indulgence, and are resolved to maintain that internal order and external peace, so indispensable to permanent tranquillity and public confidence; then may we behold the stir of industry and commerce, and with them the development of resources

which these regions certainly possess in a greater degree than is generally supposed, but which, from obvious causes, have never yet been called into activity.

I know that there are persons who view all matters connected with this country with contemptuous indifference, and believe that it is little better than a vast wilderness, without means or hope of improvement, and that there is to be no end of that state of anarchy and confusion in which the people have unhappily so long continued. It may probably be found that the majority of such persons are altogether uninformed respecting the country, its inhabitants, and the real state of things as regards either the present or the future. It may be found that their views of South America have been taken through a medium of unjustifiable prejudice, founded generally on the disappointment of exaggerated hopes, raised in the evil hour of their own ill-judged speculations. In this case, as in all others arising from selfish and narrow principles, opinions have been hastily adopted without any examination of their truth. But there are opinions of a very different nature, given by men who have examined with the dispassionate discrimination of enlightened and philosophic minds, the position, present and future, of this fine country; it is from them I gather, not arrogantly concluding from my own observations, careful as I have been in making them, that the destinies which await her need no embellishment from illusive or chimerical calculations; and it becomes necessary either to destroy or to falsify history, that unchangeable monument of the rights and usurpations of the human race, before it can be maintained that America is not liable to the same changes that all other nations have experienced. And what nation ever commenced its career with more brilliant examples for its guidance? If those examples, and many other advan-

tages, have not yet been made available, it is not unreasonable to attribute the cause, in a great degree, to that systematic plan of debasement which extended to the prohibition of all useful knowledge, and, having been long and uniformly practised, carried destruction to the basis of civilised society. Time must be granted before any superstructure of solidity can be erected on a ruin so complete; but the accomplishment of it is opposed by no insurmountable object. A wise government, instigated by an enlightened zeal, and devoted to the public good, is the grand *desideratum*; that once established, prosperity must follow, for all that then seems requisite is easily defined—namely, to execute justice and maintain peace—to facilitate and encourage emigration from Europe—to educate the people—to cause every thing to be done that can relieve them—every thing that can improve their condition, physically, morally, intellectually, and religiously. Then may South America attain a power and consequence, stupendous and elevated as the majestic crests of her native Andes, and one day command, as did Rome in her proud days of triumph, the admiration and reverence of the surrounding world.

However much this picture may be embellished by the fancy of an idealist or an enthusiast, it is not an unpleasing one to those who feel an interest and satisfaction in contemplating the destinies of a rising people, among whom no unprejudiced person can have lived without having found much to respect and to admire, and to induce him to confess, that their many defects are not without a counterpoise of qualities which require only to be well directed in order to become equally useful and creditable to themselves and to their country.

26th. The spaces that latterly intervene in the dates of my journal, may probably attract the notice of my friends, and induce them to ask why I have not availed

myself of the time that must necessarily hang upon my hands, to present them with something more solid and interesting respecting the country and its inhabitants, than what I have hitherto done? I have long since informed them of my having put an end to every business connected with the Association, consequently, the office I hold having become a *sinecure*, it is reasonable to conclude that I am not only unemployed, but actually reposing on a bed of roses in a state of the most profound idleness. Away with your "bed of roses!" I thought I had already shown that mine was the "rack of rest," and its torture intolerable. I still find it so, and each succeeding day tends only to augment the misery it occasions. With respect to "idleness," are we not told that "it is the grand Pacific ocean of life,"* and that in its stagnant abyss the most salutary things produce no good—nothing. I believe it.

Every day I am reminded "to regulate my life;" never was there less occasion for the wholesome admonition, because never did I lead a life so regular. I rise regularly at seven every morning, when I regularly commence yawning; then regularly yawn through the day, till near ten o'clock in the evening, when I regularly go yawning to bed, and regularly sleep till seven the next morning, unless roused in the course of the night by a thunder storm, the effects of which can be compared only to an earthquake, accompanied by the discharge of artillery in your ante-chamber. Notwithstanding this unerring regularity of life, I am daily reminded to continue it; for in the forenoon I regularly stroll out with my hands in my breeches pockets, and hat on one side, (not unlike Hogarth's tired rake in the *Rake's Progress*,) and direct my lingering steps to the

* Lacon, vol. ii.

ancient convent of Augustin Friars, where there happens to be a sun-dial, by which every watch in and about Potosi is regularly regulated. Thither I saunter every day—"Oh! weary reckoning!"—to mark the stealing steps of never-standing time, and set my watch by the dial with as much precision as if every minute was apportioned to some important purpose, instead of unceasing yawns, such as are occasioned on perusing the dull and wearisome works of former times, now happily superseded by our interesting productions in this age of intellect.

February 2d. In the present dearth of matter, or rather in the present "regularity of my life," which I find it impossible to break through, I shall present my readers with an account of my daily expenses, which, with the prices of a few necessaries, will convey a very tolerable idea of the markets, and the rate at which a person may live decently at Potosi, a place considered as expensive as any in South America.

My establishment consists, first, of number ONE, with a salary of five hundred sterling pounds *per annum*! (The English of *per annum* I thought, till now, meant "payable yearly.") Then comes, next in dignity, José Luni, a Peruvian *Sambo*, (the next shade to a negro,) who is my major-domo and cook-major, with a salary of six Spanish dollars per month, or 14*l.* 8*s.* sterling per annum; very good wages, no doubt, but then the very good qualities of José Luni justly entitle him to them, and fortunately for him, they are more regularly paid than his master's. This *Sambo* had married a *Samba*, whom I appointed, at her own request, to the office of housemaid, with a salary of two dollars per month, nearly 5*l.* sterling per annum. I found her in all things as honest, careful, and attentive as her husband. She had a child whilst in my house, and afterwards I was

formally solicited to become *padrino* (godfather) to the young Sambo. This is not here a mere formality, forgotten when the ceremony is ended, as is commonly the case in Europe; but becomes a connection, "a spiritual affinity," even with the parents of the child, that is valued much more than a close relationship, and continues uninterrupted through life; and when the *padrino* happens to be of a class in society higher than those for whom he becomes sponsor, he receives continual acts of attention and respect from his *compadres*, (co-parents,) who take a pride at every opportunity of mentioning their connection, seldom even allowing him to pass in the street without pointing at him, and saying, with a feeling of enviable satisfaction, to the bystanders, "*Allí va mi compadre!*" There goes my benefactor, protector, friend! I myself became quite proud of this distinction, and frequently took my little black godson to dandle in my arms, for the sake of witnessing the delight which that act of condescension always occasioned to the parents. On those days I was sure to have at dinner some favourite dish dressed with extraordinary care, and pointed out to me by José as an addition of his own to the bill of fare; whilst his wife Maria would sweep, dust, and clean my apartments, without being scolded or implored to do so, as was generally requisite.

I would have left with the utmost confidence *oro en polvo* (Englished, *untold gold*;) in the possession of these poor people; and I shall never forget the distress and misery of mind that reigned for several days in my household from feelings of sheer honesty on their part.

At the period alluded to, Sambo's son was cutting his teeth, and the unusual dejection which I observed in José, whom with his wife I frequently caught in tears, I attributed to the cares and anxieties of parents, and for some time patiently put up with the worst of bad cookery

on the part of José, and the total neglect of my apartments on the part of Maria, who sometimes did not even make my bed. Not wishing to deprive my little black godson of the attention of his parents, I one day said to José—
“José, I can stand this no longer; therefore, since you and your wife cannot spare time to afford me the slightest assistance, I have no objection to your hiring some other person, until *Josesito* (little Joey) gets better.”—
“No, *Señor!*” said José, clenching his fist, straining his eyes as in fury, and with a loud and determined voice—
“No, sir! nor shall the devil himself come into this house if I have strength to keep him out!” “Don’t you see, sir,” continued he, “that I have kept the gate locked for this week past, and have not suffered any body to come within these walls?”—“Yes, yes,” said I, “all very true; but Mr. Scriviner informs me, that there is nothing whatever of consequence in the illness of *Josesito*; and I cannot permit—” José interrupting me, exclaimed,—“*Josesito!* *Josesito!* what has *la creatura* (the infant) to do with the business?”—“Why,” said I, “is he not the cause of my having been latterly altogether neglected and nearly starved?”—“Ah! *patron mio*,” said José, with tears in his eyes, “a worse calamity than any thing of that kind has befallen me; but I’ll find him out! if my patron saint can be moved by prayers, I’ll find out the thief!”—“The thief!” said I, “what thief? has any thing been stolen from you?”—
“Oh! *mi patron! mi patron!*” said José, in accents of despair that excited in me the utmost impatience to know the cause, “the stable,” said he “was entered.”—
“The stable! the stable!” I repeated, jumping from my chair; “has *Tortuga* been stolen?” for several horses and mules had been lately stolen in the town. “Patience, master dear, there is nothing of that.” “The stable was entered the other day, and—”—“And what?”

"And two of the silver plates were stolen!" Here José's articulation was interrupted by sobs and tears. "And what the mischief brought the silver plates into the stable?"—"Oh! I had thrown them there, with all the rest of the plates and dishes, for the convenience of scrubbing them, which I often told you was not the custom in this country, but you know, you would insist upon having them look bright, and the consequence is, when I threw them into the stable, where I have always scoured them, two of them were carried off; but I have got Saint Joseph at the head of my bed, and have kept a candle burning before him ever since, and my wife and I pray to him ten times a day, and have vowed, that if he reveals the thief we will not eat a morsel of flesh meat for two months."—"This, then," said I, "has been the cause of all the distress I have observed of late?"—"Si, Señor."—"And why should you have condemned me to the penance of starvation, in addition to the loss of my plate?"—"Oh! Señor, neither Maria nor I have been capable of any thing since that unhappy hour, and we have been ashamed to look our *compadre* in the face."—"Well, well," said I, "as I suppose you are convinced that your careful 'shutting of the gate and keeping it locked,' has been rather late, and that to continue to do so will prevent farther losses, I desire that you and Maria may return to your business, and leave the discovery of the thief to others."

Plate of all kind, sometimes of very elaborate workmanship, is easy to be obtained at the Bank of Potosi for about three and threepence per ounce, and I have found it to the full as economical as European crockery ware.

It is due to the benevolent disposition of the saint to add, that in the course of a few weeks he acceded to the unremitting prayers of José and Maria; but, instead of

overwhelming them with joy, as I expected such an event was likely to do, it actually converted the one into a tiger and the other into a tigress. On the first intimation they received of the detection of the thief, (who proved to be an Indian in the habit of providing forage for my horses,) away they went, furious, and when the plates were found, they literally tore every particle of clothing in tatters from the man's body, then beat him with the plates, which might be seen flourishing about his head as actively as a pair of cymbals, and were each battered into a shapeless mass, without the slightest consideration that the property was mine. The uproar spread through Potosi, and no thief ever after ventured to purloin the property entrusted to José.

I have already enumerated in my establishment, self, major-domo, and housemaid, to which I have to add, a peone, my head groom, who received the wages of six dollars per month, and an Indian, who was "every thing by turns and nothing long;" or in other words, having, as is generally the case, the *least* wages, he had the *most* work, thus making altogether a family of five persons.

The weekly bill of the house expenditure, which was regulated entirely by José, and except when I had a few friends to dinner, never varied in the amount two shillings in any week, was nearly seven dollars.

Apothecaries' drugs are drugs indeed, and excessively dear, which will hardly be the case when science advances and avails herself of the great variety of medicinal plants and herbs which abound in the valleys of Peru; but, for the present, I strongly recommend all visitors to this country to beware of mock-doctors and their infallible poisons. It is by no means unusual for an apothecary, who happens to be unprovided with the ingredients specified in the recipe, to send you the value

of your money (which must always accompany it) in some other drugs of his own selection, but which you of course swallow, supposing them to be those that were ordered. If you chance to meet the apothecary at any future period, you will be relieved from any doubt of his intention to defraud, for he will boast of the favour that he considered he was conferring on you, in sending at the same price, drugs infinitely stronger and dearer than those mentioned in the recipe: you are *then*, probably for the first time, enabled to account for the very-extraordinary and unexpected effects of your doctor's prescription.

CHAPTER IX.

All's well that ends well—Dead asleep—Carnival merriment—Costume of the Cholas—Consequence of taking out a passport—Discovery of a conspiracy—Thunder storm—Singular superstitions of the Indians—A dinner party.

February 15th. I had the gratification of receiving letters from our chief commissioner, approving the steps I had taken in reducing our establishment; and, for the final settlement of our concerns here, he transmitted to me the following powers.

"It being necessary to conclude forthwith all the concerns of the Potosi, La Paz, and Peruvian Mining Association, you have my power and authority to take all such steps as you may judge fit for this object. You will sell to the best advantage of the society all the effects, of whatever description, that there may be at Potosi, and, in a word, for the purpose of conducting the business with the greater convenience, I confer upon

you the powers that I hold, convinced that, in prudence and discretion, you will do every thing in the best manner for the benefit of the society.

Signed,

JAMES PAROISSIEN."

Although it was very satisfactory to be possessed of such full powers, I had long since anticipated and acted upon them from my own authority, convinced that, in our situation, indecision and delay could produce no good.

"The fated sky
Gives us free scope, only doth backward pull
Our slow designs, when we ourselves are dull."

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

And wishing all to end well in this case I settled every claim against the Association over which I had any control, with the single exception of the rent for Linares' house; the money for this purpose I have been daily expecting to receive from the chief commissioner, and the payment of it would leave me free to retrace my steps homeward in solitude and disappointment.

28th. Had a stranger for the first time entered Potosi about noon on this day, he might have imagined that he had arrived in an uninhabited city. All doors and windows were closed; business of every kind was at a stand, even the market-places were deserted and without any supply of provisions: not a living soul was to be seen in the streets: the wary condor, which usually shuns the abode of man, soared over the town as in surprise at the desolation; a death-like silence prevailed, as though the inhabitants were stretched in their tombs or stretched in their beds, dead asleep!—yes, precisely so,—dead asleep!—This was the real cause. Yesterday being Shrove Tuesday, the entire day and night were spent in

one continued round of mirth and festivity peculiar to these people, who at all times prefer their numerous holidays to their few days of work; but, on this festival, all thoughts of the concerns of this world or the next are utterly abandoned, for the purpose of devoting them wholly and solely to the enjoyment of the *last day* of the carnival.

Grandfathers and grandmothers, with one foot in the grave, withdraw it on this occasion for a last feeble hop in the dancing-ring of younger generations. All seem inspired with the innocent folly of first childhood, and the whole population, male and female, become blended as in one family-party of joy and jubilee. Being one of them, I should feel for ever ashamed had I declined performing my part; I therefore dealt and received, with inconsiderate prodigality, showers of flour, powdered starch, and bon-bons; I pelted the ladies and was pelted by them, with dozens of egg shells, filled with perfumed waters, which are sometimes poured, even to drenching, upon some favourite victim, and a well-directed shot in the face with one of those egg shells is not at all times agreeable; but, as all suffer alike, no one can feel angry at a fellow-sufferer's joke—

“Nor jest mean insult, where men sympathise.”

Such was the scene yesterday, and such the exhaustion occasioned by dancing, racing, singing, screaming, and unbounded indulgence in drink of all sorts for twenty-four successive hours, that this day one half of the inhabitants kept their beds from inebriety, and the other half from excessive fatigue; that is to say, some were as intoxicated with joy as others were with drinking.

Towards evening, animation being restored, all again rose, and, according to ancient custom, dressed and

adorned themselves in all the riches and finery they either possessed, or borrowed, or could in any way obtain; then proceeded in promenade to a short distance from the town, under the great mountain, there in one grand *tertulia* to sit and converse, or, for those who had strength left, to dance till sunset. This assemblage is for the purpose of "burying the festivities of the carnival," for, at the close of the evening, guitars, fiddles, and pipes, are bound round with black crape or ribbons, and, with these emblems of mourning, buried in the earth, their uses being supposed to have ceased with the termination of the carnival.

The scene was as curious as it was brilliant; the quantity of diamonds, pearls, and gold and silver ornaments, that was displayed, according to the circumstances of the wearers, was immense. Some of the ear-rings are so ponderous, as to require round the top of the head a gold chain, the ends of which are attached to the ear rings, to relieve the ears from the weight. The Cholas, in particular, pride themselves in the exhibition of their jewelry on this evening; their dress, too, is more conspicuous than that of others; a full-plaited petticoat, containing from twelve to fourteen yards of rich velvet or satin, trimmed with ribbons of the most gaudy colours, and sometimes with festoons of artificial flowers. A scarf is thrown over the shoulders, but not so as to hide the shining raven tresses that hang in plaits down the back; on the head they sometimes wear a narrow-brimmed black hat, similar to that of the Welsh women. The whole produces a very striking effect on a fine handsome figure, which, at the age of twenty, they generally exhibit.

Although the days of the carnival were spent in tumultuous glee, and much drunkenness prevailed among all the lower orders, quarrels were few, and, in the

densest crowd, picking pockets was never known or heard of. The Indians continued running through the streets, morning, noon, and night, beating drums, blowing horns and whistles, accompanied by the screams of women and children, but never molested other parties, and seemed in perfect concord among themselves.

It is scarcely fair to mention the solitary exception of a dispute which ended in a pugilistic fight between two Indians, fine young men, who, although quite uninstructed, displayed astonishing *science*. I felt, I know not why or wherefore, a delightful satisfaction in witnessing the dexterity with which they alternately gave and defended the most tremendous blows; and when the "claret began to flow" from eyes, mouth, and nose, I was surprised to find myself left alone to enjoy the sport. The natives, when they failed in restoring peace, turned in disgust from a scene to which they were unaccustomed; whilst I, with the true characteristic feeling of a Briton, gave every encouragement to the combatants, and maintained the laws of honour and fair play between them, until both fell exhausted by their "punishment," which was so dreadfully and skilfully inflicted, that, had it occurred in England, it must have made the fortunes of both; but here, it nearly cost them their lives, without gratifying any soul, except myself. Such bluntness of sentiment and absence of all manly feeling may, however, be overlooked in a nation of semi-barbarians, whose improvement in manners, and refinement in taste, let us hope, will gradually take place among other benefits to be expected from the glorious revolution.

March 6th. In order to be in readiness to leave Potosi the moment the rent for Linares' house should be paid, I took out a passport for Buenos Ayres, which induced a suspicion in the mind of the vigilant agent of La Señora Linares, that I was going a little sooner than he

wished; and, thinking that I had forgotten my real responsibility to him, he this day waited upon me, accompanied by a friend, who required security for the rent, and at the same time delivered a legal injunction, prohibiting my departure from Potosi until it should be satisfied. The friend proved to be an *alguazil*, and the proceeding neither more nor less than the arrest of my person for the debt, but for which I found no difficulty in procuring bail. Personal restraint, however, even for one's own doings, must at all times be gallingly irksome; that it is much more so when imposed upon us by the acts of others, many in the King's Bench can probably testify.

7th. Hark! the hour of attack approaches. The government of this republic have for some time past had information, that the revolutionary disturbances of the neighbouring states had their advocates here, and that conspiracies were on foot to subvert the existing order of things.

The truth of the information has just been confirmed by the discovery of a gang of conspirators in full assembly; and, after a stout resistance, with exercise of gun, sword, and bayonet, on both sides, the government succeeded in making twenty-eight prisoners. Their plan, it appears, was first to have obtained possession of a store where six hundred stand of arms and some ammunition are kept; with these they were to have attacked the barracks, where about 250 Colombian soldiers are quartered, and thence proceeded to the mint, where they hoped to have acquired the "sinews of war." The colours of the republic of Buenos Ayres were to have been hoisted in the great square, under an idea that many of the inhabitants would rally round it as friends to that republic, because it happens to be at present in hostility to this; a mistake that surprised me not a lit-

tle : for nothing can be more open and obvious than the general dislike of the Peruvians towards the Buenos Ayreans. The hatred that exists between the Spaniards and Portuguese, which must have been witnessed by every one who has visited the Peninsula, is not more manifest than that which subsists between the Peruvian and Argentine republics, and, indeed, between most of the South American states—petty jealousies, that keep alive discord and disorder, without hope of benefit to either party. But the ultimate object of the conspirators, and by far the most silly of their plans, was to cry—“*Viva Fernando septimo ! el rey absoluto !*” Were the ample resources which Spain possesses fairly called forth, and wisely directed, and were she herself free from intestine divisions, it would be no difficult matter for her, in the present rivalry between the provinces, and personal disputes between republican governors and chiefs, to march an army from Panama to Cape Horn, without encountering any serious resistance. But how long that army could keep possession of the country I pretend not to say. Certain it is, that “*Viva el Rey !*” is a sound, and nothing more ; for it is quite impossible that Spain can ever again permanently possess one foot of ground in this quarter of the world.

13th. The sun, in the forenoon of the last few days, has been intensely hot, and the evenings excessively cold. An itinerant French quack, who has lately arrived here on a tour of *gullibility*, happening to have a thermometer, I ascertained this day that Fahrenheit stood before noon at 66°, and in the afternoon at 42°, making in the space of four hours a difference of 24 degrees in the temperature of the weather.

14th. “*The voice of Thy thunder was heard round about ; the lightning shone upon the ground ; the earth was moved, and shook withal.*”

Wonderful and terrible was the storm of this evening. A party of us assembled in a long balcony in the upper part of our house, and there sat for an hour, silently witnessing its effects as it raged and blazed in the valley beneath the town. The blue lightnings darted around in ten thousand dazzling flashes, and lost themselves in the earth, whilst the thunder rolled from mountain to mountain in long-continued peals, absolutely stunning to the senses, and baffling the power of description. Dense black clouds, intermixed with brilliant hues of blue and green, beautified the scene of awful magnificence.

I was not aware till now, that where earthquakes are prevalent, as at Lima, there is seldom or ever either thunder or lightning; and where thunder storms are common, as at Potosi, earthquakes are unknown. Among our party in the balcony this evening was a Lima family, whose terror of the storm was particularly conspicuous; and when I expressed my surprise that they, who had given me so many accounts of the dreadful earthquakes they had experienced, should now feel so very much affrighted at a thunder storm, I was instantly stopped short by the fervent exclamation of the whole family—"Holy Virgin! Mother of God! remove us but from this terrible scene, and place us, if thou wilt, amidst all the earthquakes in the world!"

Such is the effect of custom: some feel astonishment in beholding towns and villages built among ruins, or at the foot of volcanoes, that repeatedly, and but recently, perhaps, overwhelmed the former inhabitants: while the present, totally unconcerned, live in as much confidence of security as those of places where such accidents never occurred. This absence of apprehension, produced by habit, may be observed in many dangerous trades and occupations, and has been ludicrously exemplified by

the sailor, who, shut up in a castle during a violent storm, wished himself safe on board ship in the midst of the ocean.

20th. Received a letter from our chief commissioner dated from Arica, where he mentions that almost every individual of the Association is ill with fever and ague. To me he gives the consoling information that "I must not expect one penny from him." This I thought hard, after I had settled the affairs of the Association, for, had the information been given sooner, I might in all justice have taken care of myself out of the means I previously possessed, but which I disbursed in full confidence of receiving a remittance. I have now nothing for it but to raise the wind by disposing of sundry little articles of gusto and curiosity, purchased at different times, in the hopeful hour of our prosperity, and I shall consider myself fortunate if my loss does not exceed fifty per cent. I now yawned wider and louder than before, and *Ennui* hugged me closer than ever in her stultifying embrace.

24th. In the afternoon of this day, Señor Villanueva, the leader of the late conspiracy, was led into the public square, tied to a post, and shot. He was attended by a great many priests and friars, loudly clamorous in supplication of mercy from the Saviour, whose image on a cross was carried by one of them before the culprit, as he proceeded to execution. This ill-fated man was of a highly respectable family, but had frequently before been engaged in conspiracy and intrigue, and as often escaped punishment. He was the only one of the lately detected gang who suffered death, although the evidence of guilt was precisely the same against them all. The consequence of this ill-judged lenity, as regards society at large, has been the encouragement, not the repression, of conspiracy and sedition. In a country

where, in every class of life, there are but few occupations, there must of necessity be many idlers, and idlers are generally the most discontented of mankind. These meet at corners of streets, in *pulperias*, and in coffee-houses, to pass the time in smoking cigars. One of the party accidentally mentions that "Don Fulano has got an appointment under government of fifty dollars a month." "How came he to get it?" says another. "I have more right to it than he," says a third. "Let us have a revolution," says a fourth. "*Corriente!*—with all my heart!" is the unanimous exclamation of the party. Fresh cigars are immediately lighted, and before they are smoked out, the "revolution" is planned. Guns, swords, and pistols, are talked of, and some few are probably obtained; but, being more for the presumed object of protection to themselves than of injury to others, arms are not of paramount importance. If the "revolutionists" understand that their plot has been discovered, they abscond in all haste to distant towns and villages, where they reside in quiet till their scheme has been forgotten, which generally happens in the course of a few weeks. If they have not been able to effect their escape, and are made prisoners, ten to one but they are thrown into jail, where they probably remain also a few weeks, and are again let loose, one of them in the mean time being selected to be shot in the great square, *pour encourager les autres*. But if they prove successful, which sometimes happens, they turn out of office the existing authorities, and install themselves and friends. The first act of the new government is always to repeal some measure of their predecessors which had not met with public approbation; this, with a proclamation of pardon and oblivion of all past political offences, obtains popularity; a ball is given at the *cabildo*, and every thing goes on smoothly for a whole moon perhaps;

when another cigar party assembles, and acts, with little alteration, the same farce over again. But what, it may be asked, are the military doing all this time?—smoking *their* cigars!

Ninety-nine out of every hundred of the South American choppings and changes of government have been thus effected: some few, and only a few, have been more serious and more destructive of life and property; but then they are much more likely than the former to tend ultimately to permanent security and peace.

When the mortal existence of the unhappy Villanueva was terminated by the discharge of three muskets at his breast, the Indians, who were among the assembled crowd, rushed forward to scramble for pieces of the clothes of the deceased, which, according to some extraordinary superstition, they dipped in his blood, for the purpose of afterwards selling to the women who make *chicha*, into which these rags are thrown on particular occasions to produce a charm, when all the Indians, male and female, in the neighbourhood, assemble and drink to excess of the horrible beverage.

Among the more innocent superstitions of the Indians, of which there are as many as among my countrymen in the Emerald Isle, I shall relate the following, as I happened to be personally concerned in it. A fine Indian youth, of shining copper colour, with hair of jet flowing down his shoulders, called at the great gate of the house at which I lodged, and requested, "for the love of Maria Santissima!" to be permitted to pass into my room, for he had a subject of infinite importance (*suma importancia*) to communicate. He passed on, and entering my room, threw himself on his knees in an attitude of supplication, from which I with difficulty raised him, saying, that that was the posture for addressing Heaven, but not me. He replied that "I could

now be of more use to him than Heaven; and implored, with tears in his eyes, that I might assent to his prayer." I was all amazement, and after forcing the man to rise from his kneeling posture, he said, "He was a servant of the condesa, (our *old friend* before alluded to,) who had turned him out of her house in consequence of a silver dish having been stolen last night, and his fellow servants having accused him of being the thief. He knew, he said, that I was in possession of an armadillo, which had discovered to me on a former occasion the thief who had stolen my silver plates. He now threw himself again on his knees, and prayed that I would consult the armadillo as to the facts, and thereby relieve him from a charge, of which I should soon know that he was altogether innocent."

Being aware of the strange superstitions of the Indians respecting these little animals, and having heard several curious stories concerning them, this application was not altogether a surprise to me. I however assured the Indian that I did not possess an armadillo, but only the shell of one, which I produced, in the hope of satisfying him on that point: but I was mistaken, for he insisted that "it was well known I had one alive, and that by means of it I had detected the thief who stole the pick-axe, as also several other evil deeds in Potosi, and that I was in the habit of conversing with it every night at twelve o'clock." My assurance that I possessed no armadillo, and the declaration of my belief that if I did I could obtain no information from it, seemed only to distress the Indian, without producing any conviction of the unreasonableness of his request, which he felt persuaded I refused because it was not accompanied with a fee. He pleaded poverty, but vowed his services in any way I should think fit to command, if I would but consult my infallible oracle, which it was in vain to

deny that I possessed, for "my nocturnal conversations with the armadillo were notorious through the whole neighbourhood." The earnestness of the Indian so plainly bespoke his honesty, that I was induced to intercede with the good old lady Condesa, and had him restored to favour.

26th. Why should a man, says Shakspeare, "whose blood is warm within, sit like his grandsire cut in alabaster?"—What is to be gained by being dull and peevish?—Nothing; well then

"Let me play the fool—
With mirth and laughter let old wrinkles come;
And let my liver rather heat with wine,
Than my heart cool with mortifying groans."

A grand dinner was this day given by Don Pedro to the Minister Plenipotentiary from the republic of Peru to Bolivia, and among the guests I had the honour of being invited.

At three o'clock a numerous and exceedingly select company assembled in (as usual) a barn-like room, down the middle of which was a long narrow table, studded with plates, bottles of wine, and saucers, in alternate rows; in the latter were small pieces of cheese, sausages, ham, and bacon, cut in fanciful slices, for the gratification of the eye, as well as the taste. Upon a side table were several bottles of rum and spruce beer, and plates of all sorts of cakes and confections, which were presented by the host as a welcome to his guests on their entering the room. *Dulces* (sweetmeats) are at all times highly prized in South America, and the handing them round with a glass of rum, (for on these particular occasions one glass serves a whole company,) affords a very happy opportunity of displaying politeness and attention—coin, which in this country is more current, and more valued, than in any other in the world; and he who dispenses it

liberally, not prodigally, will never want friends in South America. An Englishman must here abandon his own prejudices, and occasionally yield to the customs of those whom he may happen to visit, and into whose society he must recollect he is always good-naturedly invited, never importunately urged. A little custom will soon reconcile him to various practices which may at first be found as repugnant to the taste as a black dose; but afterwards, they all go down as easily as a pill. He is not expected to accept a cigar from the mouth of another, nay, even from a domestic, as in Spain, where, by declining it, you commit a grievous offence against friendship and good breeding. In South America I have never seen this act of friendly politeness proffered, because every one is usually furnished with a stock of tobacco in his pockets. But you must accept with grateful acknowledgment the remains of a glass of rum; the more lips it has touched the more cordiality in the dram;—off with it! and beware of wiping your mouth either before or after it. Should you be induced to wipe the brim of the glass before drinking, or turn it between yourself and the light to seek a little space free from humidity, your reputation is gone for ever!—“*Que barbaro!*—*Que hombre tan groséro!*”—“*Jesus! José! Jesus!*”^{*} When a lady selects a gentleman from the company, by beckoning, or calling him to take her glass and sip after her, the compliment is then highly enviable; and whether her lips be pale and shrivelled by the wintry effect of years, or cherry-ripe and pouting in the fragrance of summer, he is bound by the well understood laws of respect, etiquette, honour, gallantry, love, and all their

^{*} This word, which is pronounced as if written ‘Haysoos,’ is a very common exclamation amongst ladies, as well as gentlemen; but is meant in a pious, never in an impious sense.

little jealousies, to imprint his own lips upon the precise spot where those were placed which preceded him, and then to take off the very last drop in the glass.

We consumed a bottle of rum and some bottles of spruce beer, with a few cakes and *dulces*, in this friendly manner, before the order for dinner was given. Slaves, male and female, black, tawny, copper, and mulatto, then entered the room, bearing ponderous dishes of silver, with soups, meats, and vegetables, and covered every vacant spot upon the table, to which the guests now drew nigh with an unlimited profusion of ceremonious bows, and squeezed themselves as well as they could, with pinioned arms, into the few inches of space allotted to each. I was among the fortunate who obtained a seat to their satisfaction; on my right was the Peruvian Minister Plenipo, and on my left a very handsome, plump, and provokingly brilliant-eyed young lady, of whose attention and conversation, however, I had no share; both being entirely engrossed by her left-hand neighbour, a respectable shopkeeper, whose insinuating manners and huge whiskers had gained him admission into the Eden of domestic life, where this young lady lived in the affection of her husband, adorned with all that earth and heaven could invent to make her amiable in his eyes, when one day,—“may that returning day be night!”—this wily shopkeeper presented his unsuspecting victim with—while I tell it do I live!—with six pair of Parisian silk stockings! received in a consignment of goods from Buenos Ayres. From that moment the sanctity of the marriage vow was forgotten, and— but that has nothing to do with the dinner, which bore undeniable testimony to the plenteousness of the markets of Potosi, and at the same time conferred imperishable honour on the negro artist who composed and amalgamated the hundred and one dishes of this

sumptuous feast, worthy to gratify the sensuality of a cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. At the dinner table sundry little compliments, constituting the etiquette of society, must also be given and received with all goodliness of manner. If you happen to be helped to any peculiarly well-dressed dish, you must first praise it aloud, in order to enhance its value, and to attract the notice of the company; you then stretch across the table with a tit-bit on the end of your fork, presenting it to whomsoever you wish to distinguish by this mark of favour, and who, in accepting it, retains *your* fork; but, as a ratification of the act, returns to you *his* or *hers*. At the second course, these compliments become general; when, in the space of a few minutes, you may have been favoured with a mouthful from every fork at the table, whilst your own has gone the round of the whole company. Plates and dishes being removed, bottles of claret, of Frontignac, of cider, and of spruce beer, were intermingled upon the table, and the speedy consumption of the beverage proved it to be agreeable to the guests. Toasts and sentiments, accompanied by speeches, went their round as rapidly as the bottles. The Americans are peculiarly fond of table oratory. When it has happened that two or three candidates for the attention of the company have risen at the same time, I have seen momentary disputes respecting the right of speaking *first*, and on those occasions I observed that the president generally settled the difference by speaking himself. The English mode of expressing applause, "Hip! hip! hip! Hurra! hurra! hurra!" has been adopted in America, and the uproar of a dinner party there, is not exceeded by that of the happiest midnight revellers at the London Tavern; neither is it an uncommon thing to see every glass on the table broken, or dashed against the walls of the apartment—the climax of joyous feeling and satis-

faction at what has been said, implying that the subject is too good ever again to suffer the same glasses to be defiled by being made to contain a bumper to any less acceptable sentiment.

At this merry meeting, we hip, hip, hipped, and hurra'd to the honour of Bolivar, Sucre, Mr. Canning, and other *distinguidos*, whose names gave rise to infinity of patriotic speeches, and to the emptying of numberless bottles, which elevated the whole company to the highest pitch of hilarity and good will. It would require every page in my book to note with deserving accuracy all the toasts and sentiments of patriotism, love, and loyalty, with their accompanying speeches, that were given in the course of this happy night ; some of them exceedingly *à-propos*, and delivered with a feeling corresponding to the subject. My toast was received with uproarious applause, three times three, and the destruction of every glass in the room. I took the opportunity of proposing it immediately after the health of several distinguished generals had given, and of course prefaced it with an eloquent speech, the idiom and pronunciation of which afforded a fair share of amusement, as those of most persons do, when publicly declaiming in a foreign language, particularly when straining to rival other speakers in the flowery beauties of oratory. My toast, however, was faultless,—it was really perfection ! Here it is in English—"May this land, so favoured by Providence, long know no other generals, than General Peace, General Industry, and General Happiness !" Every glass in the room was shattered to atoms in an instant.

The night was well advanced before I took my leave of this jovial assembly, and, in returning home, although I distinctly saw two moons, their light was not sufficient to prevent me from losing my way, and wandering through the streets in great perplexity a full hour,

though at starting I was not ten minutes' walk from my own door.

CHAPTER X.

A last letter—Bones of ancient giants of Tarija—Horse grenadier guards of Colombia—A bold scheme boldly executed—Military rencontre.

April 28th. To recover the amount of a few hundred dollars in bills, which had been transmitted to me on an individual in Chuquisaca, I set out for that city, and owing to the friendly interference of Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, whom I had occasion to mention in his office of Provost of the University, on my first visit to that city, I succeeded in recovering three hundred and fifty dollars. I remained but one day in Chuquisaca, then returned to Potosi, where, by the sale of ores previously extracted from our mines, together with a fund arising from the disposal of part of my private property, I have at length been enabled to leave with Mr. Garda the means of paying the rent of Linares' house when it becomes due, retaining a sufficient sum to bear my expenses to Buenos Ayres. When I had accomplished this anxiously-looked-for object, I lost not a moment in writing my last letter from Potosi to the directors, in the following terms:—

“Long since informed by letters from your board, that ‘no pecuniary assistance from England must under any consideration be expected,’ and, by letters from your chief commissioner, that he ‘cannot send me one rial,’ I have no alternative, to avoid the last stage of distress, but to depart from Potosi whilst I have the means of defraying the expenses of the long and lonely journey be-

fore me. I propose leaving this to-morrow for Tarija, where I have a friend, on whose hospitality I must throw myself, until the road to Buenos Ayres is re-opened to the public, political commotions having for some time past completely intercepted all communication with the lower provinces.

"My late companions in disappointment have dispersed and gone where each thought he could best earn his bread. For myself, I have remained at my post, until all support and even hope of support have been withdrawn from me; but notwithstanding the difficulties with which we have been beset, it is a consolation to know, that in transferring to Mr. Garda the authority I possessed in the absence of the chief commissioner, I have left nothing for that gentleman to perform; he merely waits the final directions of your board respecting this ill-fated enterprise.

"Very small means would have sufficed to carry the object of this Association (under new restrictions) into full and prosperous effect, which must prove how culpably negligent the directors of it have been, to have so suddenly and effectually occasioned its ruin, by acts wholly and solely proceeding from themselves. I have the honour to be," &c.

The friend alluded to in the foregoing letter, is Colonel O'Connor, who had recommended me to take the road to Tarija, and offered me an asylum in his house, until it should be ascertained that the passage to Buenos Ayres was free and safe to travel. The province of Tarija, I have already had occasion to mention, and hope soon to be able to speak of it from personal observation; for the present I shall only remark, that it is particularly celebrated for bones and even whole skeletons of prodigious size, which have been found from time to time in ravines, and in the sides of banks and precipices. Throughout

America, to this day, they are known and talked of as "*huesos de los gigantes antiguos de Tarija*," (bones of the ancient giants of Tarija.) I have frequently heard the gravest discussions upon them, and those who are a little incredulous as to the existence of a former race of giants endeavour to account for the growth or increase of the bones, by reason of the properties of the soil; but on no occasion did I ever hear it mentioned that they belonged to any beast, or at all doubted, that they were any other than human bones; nay, I have even heard the well-known, the learned, and scientific Doctor Redhead, talk dubiously of "the shoulder-blade," "the knee-joint," "the tooth, &c." of a skeleton of one of the giants of Tarija.*

I had for some time past been in correspondence with my friend Colonel O'Connor, on this and other subjects, and as his letters had the effect of dispersing ennui,—that painful sensation of a dull and frigid existence, the suffering of which, like a weight of lead upon the brain, I have latterly been compelled to bear—I shall here introduce those letters, in the hope that they will likewise avert ennui from the reader; though after the excellent entertainment I so lately gave him at the conclusion of the last chapter, I cannot suppose he is so soon sleeping the siesta.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Soon after the receipt of your last letter, I rode twelve leagues from Tarija to inspect a skeleton, of which I had received information. I found it lying on

* Mention is very gravely made in the ancient history of Peru, by Garcillaso and others, of the existence of a race of giants, all males, on the borders of Atacama, and who, having excited the wrath of heaven, were ultimately destroyed by thunder and lightning. This tale arrayed in the dignity of history, has kept alive the belief that generally prevails as to the *huesos de gigantes*

the edge of a ravine of white stony earth, the head carried away by the torrent which the rains annually occasion. I made every effort to raise it as it was, but each bone mouldered into dust on clearing away the clay. It was crippled in the attitude in which it lay, but even so it measured fourteen feet from the shoulder blade, which was apparent, to the foot.*

"The *cavildo* (corporation) here have laid claim to another skeleton, which is not yet taken up: they say it is perfect, and that the bones are petrified. They hope to sell it to some foreign museum, and expect to get ten thousand dollars for it. A Franciscan friar has given me a jaw-tooth, which I keep on my table for you; it weighs nearly two pounds without the roots, and is two inches and a half in diameter."

The following letter was upon a very different subject from the foregoing, and in order to make it fully understood, it becomes necessary to give some account of the event to which it alludes.

In one of the provinces of the Republic of Bolivia, called Cochabamba, and in the town of the same name, was quartered the Colombian regiment of cavalry, "*Los granaderos à caballo de la guardia de Colombia*," which, for gallant and exemplary conduct, was perhaps the first among the regiments that most distinguished themselves in the war of independence. I have frequently heard "the horse grenadier guards of Colombia" praised, in terms similar to those which, in England, we have all heard applied to the Scots Greys, the Life Guards, or any other particularly distinguished regiment. In a word, it was a "crack corps," and both officers and men were proud of the honour of belonging to it. It occurred one

* The opinions, or at least the doubts, of my friend, coincide with those of Dr. Redhead, and with those of the whole nation.

day, that the commanding officer, "for something or for nothing," struck one of the men: this called forth observations from one of the lieutenants, named Matute, in terms that occasioned his being placed under arrest. Matute was a mulatto, who had signalised himself by feats of the most undaunted bravery in repeated engagements with the enemy, and very naturally had become a great favourite with the men, whom he had often led on to victory. With the officers of his regiment he was not on such good terms, whether on account of a haughty and reserved manner peculiar to himself, or from wounded feelings in consequence of having been passed over in a general promotion, I never distinctly ascertained. However, when under arrest, he determined upon leaving his regiment, and when released, he lost no time in maturing and executing the plan which he had projected for that purpose. Judging from his own feelings, that a soldier accustomed to a life of activity, victory, and booty, would readily abandon his quiet country quarters for any opportunity of returning to the former, Matute saw in the existing state of things in the Lower Provinces, then at war one with the other, a fair field for his desperate ambition, and thought that with a handful of men, trained and courageous as himself, he might turn the fortune of war in favour of whatever state he pleased, and afterwards, with his sword still unsheathed, exact his own terms for the benefit conferred. These designs he communicated to such of the non-commissioned officers of his corps as he well knew he could confide in; they, in their turn, on the same principle, secured about a hundred men in the grand plot of desertion. To this party, in one or two secret meetings, Matute explained how the scheme was to be conducted, named himself commandant-general, appointed captains and other officers from the number, and held out hopes and promises too dazzling

to be resisted by men with whom the nicest point of honour consisted in the dexterity with which each could manage the point of his lance; for the *granaderos a caballo* carried tremendous lances, and were celebrated for their fatal expertness in the use of them.

The day fixed for abandoning their colours for ever was that on which Matute was officer of the guard at the barracks. This fine regiment consisted of between three and four hundred men, consequently the majority knew nothing of the conspiracy; had they suspected any thing of the kind, it would have been easy to prevent it, but no such suspicion could exist in such a regiment; even if that were possible, the determination, the dignity, and coolness, of Matute were sufficient to allay it; no distrust could attach to the conduct of so distinguished an officer.

At a particular opportunity, which, like every other circumstance attending the adventure, was of course well and carefully concerted, Matute gave orders for a certain portion of the regiment to "saddle, and turn out, in marching order." Many of the non-commissioned officers and men present appeared for a moment amazed and confounded; no trumpet had sounded, the time was unusual, the order irregular, but still nothing like *suspicion* existed in the mind of any man; the command of their officer was peremptory, and their discipline such as to induce obedience, to which they were still farther encouraged by the alacrity with which they perceived so many of their comrades obey the order. Within ten minutes of time, two hundred men, with Lieutenant Matute at their head, were on their march; they passed the barracks where two regiments of infantry were quartered. "Where are ye going?" was a question put a hundred different times to the horse grenadier guards, and to which many of the latter honestly replied, "*Quien*

sabe !" Others in the plot, gave such answers as best suited their purpose.

They passed on unmolested and unsuspected through the town of Cochabamba, and when about a league beyond it, Matute halted his men, declared his design to those who were not already acquainted with it, and said that "all who wished to return, were at full liberty so to do, and hoped that none would follow him who had not valour and perseverance to acquire fame, fortune, and independence, by means of their own swords."

Of those who had been lately surprised into this scheme, some returned to their quarters, and some gladly adhered to the standard of freebooters, whose whole force, amounting to one hundred and fifty men, with their commandant-general at their head, took the road to Salta, about five hundred miles distant.

It is unnecessary to mention the consternation excited in the government, and, indeed, throughout the country, by this desperate proceeding; suffice it to say, that all the means taken, prompt and feasible as they were, proved ineffectual in arresting the march of the deserters. The only check they met with, I now proceed to relate in the words of Colonel O'Connor, to whose letter I previously alluded.

"Never did I undertake a plan that promised so favourably, until the first fatal shot which our soldier fired, and which gave warning to the enemy; half a minute later, and not a single soul of those who were coming into the village would have escaped. Such, my dear friend, are the chances of war. Matute and his companions entered Salta, where the governor immediately employed them, and marched them for Tucuman to co-operate with a Colonel Bedoya, who was tranquillising that province. On their march, they were gained over to the party of Gorrite and Puche, men of influence

in the province of Salta, and opposed to the governor, against whom they now turned, and drove him from his government."

After deposing the governor of Salta, Matute proclaimed himself military chief of that city, and in the hope of acquiring party and influence, married into a family of the first respectability and consideration: the match was opposed by all the relations of the young lady, for it must not be supposed that such a character as Matute, however great the political consequence he might acquire, was likely to receive the countenance of the sober and well disposed members of society. His late conduct could not in any country have excited stronger sentiments of disapprobation than were generally expressed here. His corps of lancers gave him a power and authority, neither to be shaken, nor easily resisted by an assemblage of shoeless and half naked peasantry, called soldiers, who were much better acquainted with the use of the *lasso* than with that of pikes, sabres, and fire arms.

With respect to Matute's marriage, we know that distinguished gallantry is justly a favourable recommendation to the fair; and, viewing only the heroic features of his character, the lady discovered in them what compensated in her mind, no doubt, for the forfeited affections of her parents and the abandonment of all her friends. Are we not told by the "monarch of the realms of mind," even he who, with subtle penetration, pierced through the dark envelopments of the human heart, that nothing in the world "can more prevail in man's commendation with woman than report with *valour*?" The husband of the lady, however, was not destined for the sweet captivity of domestic life: in a few days after his marriage, he voluntarily relinquished his government, deserted his *dulce domum*, and marched at the head of

his grenadier lancers to Tucuman, where he sided with that government against the invading armies of rival provinces. By these he was defeated, after having distinguished himself in two pitched battles, to the admiration of both friend and foe.

CHAPTER XI.

Adieu to Potosi—Unexpected welcome at the village of Otavi—Diamonds and pearls in abundance, but no bread—Valley of Cinti—Judge Advocate of the High Court of Judicature and his three daughters—A wearisome journey—Village of San Lorenzo—Hospitable reception at Tarija.

April 29th, 1827, I bade adieu to Potosi. At three o'clock in the morning I was clattering through the steep and narrow streets, with my cavalcade of refractory mules and spirited horses, accompanied by two peones, who had long been in my service. The latter had a glass each of aguardiente, and the former a double feed of maize, so that, on setting out, the whole party were under a temporary degree of excitement, which occasioned self-will on one hand and vociferation on the other, to a pitch so alarmingly clamorous, as to rouse many a head from its pillow, and cause it to be thrust in amazement through the window as we passed. On leaving the city for the last time, I experienced a strange mixture of delight and sorrow. An exile freed from banishment could not have set out from his dreary and uninteresting abode with spirits more élated by joy than mine; but then it was impossible not to feel their buoyancy occasionally checked by sensations of deep regret, in reflecting on the unexpected and disastrous termination of my mission.

The morning was dark, with a piercing cold wind, and the shallow streams we crossed were frozen so hard as to bear the animals on the ice without its breaking. At night we stopped at the hut of an Indian, having accomplished about thirty miles.

30th. Even at this short distance from Potosi we felt very sensibly the difference of temperature; and, although summer was gone and winter approaching, the freshness of the morning was delightful.

On preparing to march, I was sadly mortified to find that my first day's journey should have already deprived me of the use of two of my mules, which were so severely injured by the pack-saddles, as to make it necessary to hire asses for the conveyance of my baggage; and their wearisome pace did not in any way contribute to interest or enliven the solitude of this day's journey over a succession of barren mountains.

At nightfall I arrived at the remains of the village of Otavi, and, on enquiring where I might find a lodging, an Indian pointed to a large house, at the ponderous gate of which I knocked, and was admitted into a spacious court, where several persons were sitting on a bench, smoking cigars. One of them immediately approached and said, "He supposed I was a *caminante* (traveller) seeking a lodging for the night."—"Exactly so," said I.—"Dismount," said he, at the same time taking hold of my horse's bridle, as a civil welcome whilst I alighted. "Step forward," said he, pointing to the opposite side of the court, "to that saloon, and you will there find my father, the marquis, who will be happy to receive you."—The marquis! said I to myself, who can he be! I entered the saloon, (large enough and sufficiently furnished for a barrack,) and saw sitting on the mud bench, which is usually built against the walls of apartments in this country, an elderly and highly

respectable-looking gentleman, leaning on a table covered with a piece of old carpet, and on it a cat which he seemed to be caressing. I had scarcely made my bow, when the gentleman rose, and with hand extended for the friendly shake, approached me, saying, "Ola! Señor Don Edmondo! you are welcome to Otavi." I was at once both surprised and gratified at this reception, for I had no expectation of finding an acquaintance here, nor was I aware of the existence of any such titled personage in the republic. It proved, however, that I had a previous slight acquaintance at Potosi with the Marquis of Otavi, though I knew him only as a private individual, occasionally meeting him without knowing his name.

The Marquis of Otavi showed me to a very decent out-house bed-chamber. "Here," said he, "you may order your *muchacho* to spread your bed, whilst we go to supper, which is now ready." We then returned to the saloon, where a ragged peone spread a dirty towel on the table, and was directed to "put *the* chair for the cavallero." Another peone arrived with an armful of dingy silver plates, which he scattered and clattered on the table with several forks and a knife. Five of us now managed to place ourselves at the table, and immediately a deep silver dish was laid before us with *chupe*, *i. e.* bits of mutton, potatoes, onions, and *aji*, boiled together, composing a very good family dish. Some broiled ribs of mutton followed as the second course; a silver goblet with water stood in the middle of the table for the use of the guests, and here ended the marquis's entertainment, with which all must have been very fairly satisfied, if the meal was relished with an appetite such as I gave unequivocal proofs of having brought with me. I was, indeed, a little disappointed in seeing water only for the beverage, rich and wholesome as it

was repeatedly pronounced to be; because, at Cinti, a few leagues distant, excellent wine is made, and might be had cheap. Besides, the estate of the marquis furnishes grapes in abundance, together with every other production of nature; a circumstance, which, on reflection, also induced me to think that mine host's table might have been a little more plenteously served. The noble owner of an estate, extending in one direction upwards of *thirty leagues*, and so near to such a market as that of Potosi, where every article of necessity or luxury at one time met with a ready sale, and where there is still a very fair consumption, might be expected to have acquired a taste for more convenience and better cheer than was here to be met with. It is true that, in the revolution, the marquis suffered very heavy losses, from being plundered at different times, by different parties, of horned cattle, horses, mules, and sheep, to no less an amount than thirty thousand head, exclusive of contributions, which he said he cheerfully and voluntarily paid in support of the cause of independence. Still, the estate and a very numerous tenantry remained, which induces the mere superficial observer of things to suppose, that no plausible excuse can exist for so much wretchedness and misery as were apparent in the whole establishment. The marquis, too, is himself a European, having been born in the fine province of Malaga, in Spain; where also, it is no more than reasonable to suppose, he might have acquired habits of domestic decency and comfort suitable to respectable life.

I have said that I received a hearty welcome; nothing could be more cordial, but I am not on that account to suppress the truth in describing the manners and customs of a people of whom it is my wish to give a faithful representation; and this sketch may be considered a

tolerably accurate outline of the general mode of living here among that class of people, which in England we denominate the first. If we take the trouble to consider this subject with reference to its consequences, as an example to the lower orders, we cannot but admit that the natives of South America have had but indifferent models to copy from, and that they have yet to learn, not only the elements of common industry, but also much of what, in civilised society, constitutes the ease and happiness of social life.

May 1st. Delightful weather; at daylight I departed from Otavi, my train augmented by several asses, which it became requisite to hire from the Indians to supply the place of my mules, that were severely galled by their pack-saddles, owing to the carelessness of the peones in putting them on.

The road lay through a wonderfully singular country, of volcanic appearance; at one time I found myself on the pinnacle of a mountain, looking down upon ten thousand lesser mountains, extending as far as the eye could reach in every direction round me; and directly beneath lay the Indian village of San Lucas, but from which, by the winding path that led to it, I was full three leagues distant. I did not arrive at this place until sunset, nor my donkey train until long past midnight, when I was roused from my lodging "at the sign of the moon," by the Indians driving the animals into a porch, at the entrance of which I lay, indulging in the full enjoyment of luxurious sleep. I felt no apprehension of losing a single article of my baggage: it had been confided to the Indians, and in their charge required neither guards, nor swords, nor pistols, to protect it, or to insure its safe delivery.

2d. A tiresome ride of nine leagues over barren mountains, without meeting with a single human be-

ing; nor was it until long after nightfall, that, attracted by the light of a fire, I arrived at a solitary Indian hut, the only habitation I had seen in the course of the day's journey. Here I obtained barley straw for my animals, and half a roasted goat for myself and peones, after which feast, wrapped in my poncho, I slept soundly until daylight, when the sharp mountain-air roused me to horse.

3d. A good road for three leagues to the remains of the village of Muyokiri, where I stopped till evening to wait the arrival of my sober-paced, long-eared train, which I far outstripped in my ride of yesterday, and had not since either seen or heard of. I alighted at the door of a house, where I saw a decent-looking man, to whom I addressed myself for the means of refreshment, and when I asked for bread, he replied with a smile, "Bread! that is an article, cavallero, absolutely unknown here."—"What then, pray, can I have to eat?" said I. "I have some sheep there," said he, pointing to a distant mountain, "but nothing else." Sheep on a distant mountain, thought I, rather dismayed at the information, may form a very interesting feature in a landscape; but to a hungry traveller not in search of the picturesque, they can afford but a sorry consolation in the absence of all other means of support on his journey. However, "nothing else" being to be had, I paid a dollar, when an Indian was despatched with a *lasso* to the distant mountain, and in something more than an hour we were all regaled and satisfied with a *chupé* and roast mutton.

The decent-looking man to whom "bread was here absolutely unknown," and who had "sheep and nothing else," was lord of the manor; his estate extended in front of his own door to a distance of four leagues, and part of this estate was very valuable, from its vineyards,

which afforded him annually a considerable stock of wine and brandy for exportation.

The house in which he was living with his wife, a respectable-looking woman, and a family of children, was a wretched hovel, and yet, in this state of apparent misery, the females (as in the present instance) may frequently be seen with rings of diamonds, and necklaces of the most magnificent pearls. If plenty does not every where abound, the inhabitants have to blame themselves alone, for nature in her bounty has left nothing to be required of her. A fruitful soil and fine climate are assuredly as much as industrious man needs for the first elements, at least, of those little comforts which contribute so materially to his enjoyment, and which, in this country, he might easily acquire. Towards evening I had the gratification of discovering at a distance, in a long broken line, winding with slow and sure pace along the shelving edge of a mountain, the whole of my asinine cavalcade, whose delay we began to attribute to disasters, for which there was no foundation but our own impatient suspicions. Having thus ascertained their approach, I left directions for their reception at Muyokiri, and continued my journey through a rich valley for three leagues, to a hut, where I obtained a fine fat duck as large as a moderate-sized goose, with abundance of lucern for my animals; and their satisfaction at good cheer for the night was as evident as my own.

4th. Before sunrise on this delightful morning I was again *en route*, and after passing some stupendous mountains, entered the narrow valley of Cinti, which, for a distance of nearly twenty leagues, is a continued vineyard, with a river running through the middle of it, on the banks of which were here and there small plan-

tations of peach, fig, and other fruit trees. I arrived early in the town of Cinti, the situation of which is beautifully romantic, but was sadly disappointed in perceiving as much poverty and want as in any other town of less note. Its celebrity for wines and brandies, which are in very great demand, and are sent to all parts of Upper Peru, led me to expect bustle and business; of these, however, there was no appearance, neither was there any house for public accommodation; but I was recommended to a lodging in the house of Don Mariano, "Doctor of Laws and Judge Advocate of the High Court of Judicature of Cinti," to whom I paid a shilling a day for my apartments, without either table or chair. These deficiencies were amply compensated by every willingness on the part of the family to supply me with as good living as the place afforded at the rate of five shillings a day, exclusive of bread, which was a separate charge: this necessary was made by the fair hands, and sold as the perquisite, of the daughters of the judge advocate of the high court of judicature, himself an exceedingly dark-complexioned man, though his three daughters were fair as the fairest of the fair in any northern clime of Europe. They were indeed fine young women, with forms and figures to attract admiration anywhere, except, I presume, at Cinti, where young men and old seemed as indifferent to what they had full opportunity of beholding, as the ladies themselves seemed unconscious of what they so gratuitously displayed. To me the sight was particularly interesting, for, as in South America, the ladies are seldom or ever seen without being closely covered up in shawls or handkerchiefs, I had not witnessed so light and airy a costume since I left England, the only country in the world where it is the fashion for ladies to exhibit their

throats, shoulders, necks, and so forth, to the admiring gaze of all mankind.

It may have been an idle conceit, and I dare say it was, but still I thought, that in the house in which I lodged at Cinti I had a complete exemplification of the good old toast—"The three Ws,"—that is, "Woman, Wine, and Wisdom;" for mine host sold wine of a most excellent quality at 1s. 3d. a bottle; of wisdom, (which, of course, means the law,) the judge advocate would have given me as much as I pleased for half-a-crown—his customary fee was a shilling for that commodity: and as for his daughters, virgins of the sun! they were to be prized beyond fine gold, that is to say, they were, as all good and handsome young ladies are and ought to be, above any price.

5th. I remained this day at Cinti to repose; a reasonable indulgence after a journey of 140 miles.

6th. I remained this day at Cinti, to wait for a supply of bread, which the virgins of the sun were busily employed in making of the very best quality for my accommodation. This delay enabled me also to obtain a sufficient supply of animals, of which I now had more need than before, being minus two since my arrival here. One horse died under symptoms of having been poisoned by an herb, not very uncommon in this country, called "*Yerba tembladera*," (the trembling herb,) which affects the animal that eats it with a violent trembling, generally terminating in death. The other misfortune had befallen one of my best mules, which had been so maimed by pack-saddles as to render it absolutely useless, and for which I stopped five dollars from the wages of each of my peones, as a fine for their negligence.

7th. Having agreed with a muleteer to convey my

baggage to Tarija, forty leagues distant, I took leave rather reluctantly of "woman, wine, and wisdom," and left Cinti, continuing my journey through the narrow valley, hemmed in on each side by stupendous mural mountains, rising two, three, four, and in some places, I may fearlessly assert, five hundred feet above my head—the bleak and peaceable dominions of the solitary condor, for no living creature disputes them with him. In this province there is a celebrated mountain called the "Cerro del Palmar," from which the Indians from time to time have brought large masses of native gold; but, as those people preserve with inviolable secrecy among themselves, even from generation to generation, all discoveries of this nature, frequent attempts by the Spaniards to explore the treasures of el Cerro del Palmar have ended in disappointment. I stopped for the night at an Indian hut, where a few rials procured me every thing I required for man and horse.

8th. Left the valley and crossed the river San Juan, which in the rainy season swells so as to become quite impassable: many evidences of the prodigious violence of the stream were to be seen along its banks. The river San Juan separates the provinces of Cinti and Tarija; on entering the latter, it is difficult to imagine that we are on the confines of one of the most fertile spots on the globe; for a perfect desert presents itself, in which even water is but very scantily found, and not a single habitation for many leagues. We stopped for the night in a deep sandy ravine, where we found but little shelter from a piercing cold wind that rushed through it from the bleak surrounding mountains.

9th. Still an unpeopled desert, the uninteresting features of which contributed perhaps to the excessive fatigue we experienced in this day's journey, and which

I note as the most laborious and wearisome I ever yet travelled. Before five o'clock in the morning we were on our march, and we never halted, except once, to slake our thirst at a brackish stream, having no inducement so to do until past ten at night, when we arrived exhausted at the village of San Lorenzo. We had been upwards of seventeen hours laboriously performing somewhat more than sixteen leagues, without any other refreshment than a bitter saline draught. It would be a hopeless task to attempt to convey to those who have travelled only upon roads constructed on "Macadam's principle," any idea of the pass that leads over the ridge of mountains which inclose the vale of Tarija. I conscientiously believe, that I rather diminish than magnify the difficulties of the road, in stating that the steps to the top of any steeple might be ascended and descended with as much ease and less peril to both man and beast. Our ascent on the northern side of this mountain-barrier was three leagues and a half, and our descent on the other side nearly seven leagues. In some places are what the natives call *saltos* (leaps) from the point of one rock to the shelving edge of another, which, till now, I imagined, could only have been performed by the chamois or guanaco. When upon the summit of this high ridge of the Cordillera, it was evident that we had invaded the territory of the condors; for in unusual numbers they soared fearlessly close above us, and swept with the rapidity of the thunderbolt round and round, as if challenging the intruders, or mayhap, surveying with their eyes of fire that which from habit they looked on as their prey. The bones and skeletons of mules and horses, that strewed the path and the bottoms of the precipices, proved as well the frequency of accident, as that many a traveller had been compelled to

abandon his wearied beast in this labyrinth of toil and danger.

When we arrived in the village of San Lorenzo, every door was shut, and every inhabitant indulging in repose, which I believed induced us to envy the more that comfort of which we ourselves felt so much in need; we therefore stopped at once in the market place, and took up our quarters in the porch of the village church. The moon "in cloudless majesty" afforded the light of day, and enabled us to discover a large field of lucern, into which my first care was to turn the poor jaded and deserving animals; then, selecting the softest step at the door of the church, I laid myself down overpowered by sleep. The labour of scrambling up the mountain at one side, and the *saltos*, skips, and jumps, descending it at the other, having been mostly performed from necessity on foot, and under an intensely hot mid-day sun, caused my desire to eat to yield irresistibly to my desire to rest.

10th. The sun had risen high before either my peones or myself showed the slightest disposition to rouse from the luxurious trance in which we so happily passed the night at the entrance of the sacred edifice of San Lorenzo, and had it not been that the tolling of the matin peal announced the necessity of vacating our situation in order to permit all well-disposed Christians within hearing of that summons to pass uninterrupted to their devotions, I doubt if we should not have slept on through the day: so true it is that

"Weariness

Can snore upon the flint, when resty Sloth
Finds the down pillow hard."

Although this is the commencement of winter, the

morning was soft and delightful as the finest day of May in Europe, which encouraged me to proceed to breakfast at Tarija, three leagues distant, and the road being through a flat luxuriant valley, it was not long before I found myself in the house of my friend, colonel Don Francisco Burdett O'Connor, commandant-general of the army of the frontiers of Bolivia, who received me with all the warmth and hospitality of a genuine Hibernian. Every toil and trouble were in an instant forgotten on my part, or, if thought of, they tended only to increase the pleasure I experienced in the cordiality of my reception. I found the commandant lodged in a very good house, in which he lived in a style highly respectable and comfortable.

The inhabitants of Tarija are descended from two or three families who came to this country from Rome, at the invitation of the Jesuits when they first settled here. Of this fact I thought I could discover in the features of *la Señora* O'Connor a very strong confirmation, and I must add, that a prettier and more animated little woman of eighteen I never saw on the shores of Italy. I might well feel a little surprise at finding my friend married, for he himself had never even thought of such an event, until a few days before my arrival, when the vicar of Tarija tied the indissoluble knot that now secures him for life in the golden yoke; and if my friend's life does not turn out what it promises to be, comfortable and happy, it will not be from want of prayers and good wishes throughout the province of Tarija.

The town contains about 2000 inhabitants; a peaceable community, who prefer sleeping the *siesta* to any occupation connected with arts or industry, which as yet have obtained no footing here. The partiality to a *delicieux repos* is considerably encouraged by the nature of the climate and the fruitfulness of the soil, which

requires only a little scratching at seed time to yield, year after year, without interruption, a superabundance of crops, particularly of maize, which here grows to great perfection.

CHAPTER XII.

An excursion to the mission of Salinas—A peep into a tent—Reception at the village of San Luis—A pasanga—A secluded beauty—Arrival at the convent of Salinas—Chiriguano Indians—Province of Tarija, its climate and fertility—Discovery of a skeleton—Carnivorous elephant.

May 19th. Superabundant preparations being made for an excursion to the ancient Jesuit mission of Salinas, about forty-five leagues distant, we this day set out, accompanied by a large party of ladies and gentlemen, all relatives of the bride of our commandant-general. Among the ladies was one not less distinguished for superior personal attraction, than for her vivacity and good humour; she had just completed the age of twenty-two years, had been five years married, and yet was five years a widow. It was impossible not to feel both pride and pleasure in paying her all those little attentions which ladies like to receive in tributary homage from men; though, in tendering my assistance at the periods of mounting and dismounting her fine cream coloured mule, my assiduities were sometimes useless, so lightly and actively did she spring of her own accord off and on her saddle. The ladies of Tarija are celebrated for their horsemanship, and frequently distinguish themselves at public races, which are here a very favourite amusement among all classes, and on those occasions, difficult as it may appear, the

jockeys, male or female, ride bare-backed. The usual seat of the ladies is the same as that of the English, but their saddles have no crutch, nor support of any kind, being precisely the make of a man's common saddle in England, only much smaller, and over it is thrown a *pellon* (a worsted saddle cloth of fancy colours), on which they sit with ease and confidence. Sometimes females may be seen sitting *en croupe* behind the horsemen, and once or twice I observed them get into that seat by means which proved at least the gentleness of the animal. A knot was tied in the horse's tail, into which the lady introduced her foot as into a stirrup; then, giving one hand to the horseman, she was assisted into her place on the animal's back, as represented in the plate at the end of this volume.

Our excursion being undertaken as a party of pleasure, we resolved to halt when any of the ladies manifested the least degree of fatigue, or where we might chance to find an inviting spot to pitch our tent. This day's journey was between five and six leagues, through the rich vale of Tarija, to the house of a relation of the bride's, where preparations had been made for our entertainment. Among the neighbours invited to the feast, was a jolly friar, an Irishman by birth, who many years ago had been a sailor in the British navy, deserted to a merchant ship, in which he touched at Buenos Ayres, and there became acquainted with some Dominican friars, who invited him to their convent, shaved his head, and clothed him in the habit of their order, in which he still continues, and is now the father confessor of all the frail penitents of the village of Saint Anna.

20th. Although we all rose early, there was so much packing, and so much time required to load our baggage mules, and saddle our riding mules, that we did not set out on our journey before the sun was high and power-

ful. We travelled four leagues through a mountainous country, fertile but uninhabited, then halted on the edge of a river, where we pitched our tent, and, after turning the animals out to graze on the abundant pasture that extended for leagues round us, we passed the evening in that mood of merriment which good cheer and good humour, and good company, generally create. A fashionable lady from Grosvenor-square or thereabouts, accustomed to folding-doors, carpeted apartments, closed windows, downy beds, damask curtains, and other little conveniences, would, I presume, have been *shockingly* surprised, on peeping into our tent at the hour of rest, to behold the fashionables of Tarija pell-mell together, some upon sheepskins, some upon saddle-cloths, some upon ponchos, and some upon the green grass, indulging in the comforts of repose with a zest that set all etiquette at defiance. In an assembly so promiscuous and so very closely packed, the lady from Grosvenor-square might imagine, that, according to the laws prescribed by refined society, there must unavoidably have been an infringement of prudence and decorum. I can assure the lady that her alarms are perfectly groundless.

At sunrise, the compliments of the morning passed round the tent, and everybody got up somehow or other, without being noticed or noticing others; as occurs among passengers in a packet, where ladies and gentlemen sometimes mingle together in harmless confusion, but with this difference, indeed, that in our tent we had no overpowering malady to depress the spirits, and induce us to feel regardless of the world and all within it, except unhappy self.

21st. We travelled about eight leagues, through a country of rich pasture, in which we saw some very fine cattle: the silky sleekness of their coats, proving their

good condition, particularly attracted our attention. Woods, glens, streams, rocks, mountains, and valleys, were successively passed in the course of the day's journey, and in the evening we halted at a luxuriant spot on the banks of a fine river, the surrounding scenery forming a splendid park, which required only a mansion to make it complete.

22d. A very severe frost, covering the ground with white, ushered in the morning; but the day turned out delightful. Our mountainous route prevented us from advancing more than about five leagues, but, surprising to say, we performed the day's journey without loss of life or limb to any of our party, or to any of our animals, which I own it would be difficult to believe, if it were possible for me to describe the nature of the road over which we passed. Several times we threaded our intricate way through glens of the greatest magnificence, full four and five hundred feet above the torrent that swept through the centre of them; but the interest they excited was often interrupted by the dread of immediate destruction. A rugged path, three feet, in some places not two feet, in breadth, on the verge of a tremendous precipice, rendered doubly perilous by an occasional jump which it became necessary to make on our unshod animals, from the point of one rock to the edge of another, was not exactly the situation in which even the most enthusiastic admirer of the picturesque could be expected calmly to contemplate the beauties of Nature.

We pitched our tent for the night under the mud walls of the fort of San Diego, which stands isolated on an eminence, surrounded by immense mountains, some of them barren, some fertile, and others luxuriantly wooded. The fort was erected several years ago to

check the incursions of a neighbouring tribe of Indians, called Chiriguano, who used to invade the country in hordes, armed with bows and arrows, which they still continue to use with great dexterity. After committing what depredations they could in defenceless villages, and making prisoners of the women and children, they retired, driving with them all the cattle in the neighbourhood. We found a woman living in the fort, who had been seven years a captive to that tribe, which the Spaniards never thoroughly subdued, nor could the Jesuits succeed in converting to Christianity. The woman said that she did not receive any harsh treatment from her captors, and that she had as much to eat, and as much time to sleep, as when with her own family. She had been rescued in a rencontre between a party of the Indians and the neighbouring peasantry, about ten years back, since which time hostilities have ceased, and no farther apprehensions are entertained respecting them.

23d. Pleasant weather; at 8 A. M. struck our tent, and, pursuing our journey, entered an immense forest, the undisturbed abode of tigers, foxes, monkeys, and birds of beauteous plumage. Our road lay for nearly ten miles through the most sublime forest scenery, which to me afforded peculiar enjoyment, from the length of time I had passed in the barren district of Potosi. Here was a variety of trees of the finest timber, many such as I had not before seen, but the stately cedar surpassed all the rest in magnitude and grandeur. Passing through the forest, our road opened abruptly on a green valley, stretching before us to the amplest reach of vision, and terminated by the village of San Luis; whence, as well as from all the neighbouring villages, the inhabitants had advanced on horseback to meet and greet the "comandante-general of the province," of

whose approach and newly-formed alliance they had been duly apprised. Never was the village of San Luis entered with greater pomp; and when we stopped at the house of the "priest of the parish," a worthy Dominican friar, who had prepared every thing within his limited means for our entertainment, I had no cause to envy my companions their cordial reception among their friends and kindred, for when it was made known that I was a countryman of the "comandante," a (true *Irlandes*;) I also received my ample share of compliment and welcome. Trivial as these observations are, they assist in delineating the character and disposition of the people; and what little I had an opportunity of seeing, I am decidedly disposed to consider in their favour. The hospitality of our reception, the attention to our little wants, and the general wish to oblige, proceeded from motives of the most disinterested kindness; there were no soldiers, no police, no authorities, to command a formal attendance; the civilities we received were the genuine and gratuitous offerings of a good natured people to strangers who had come as friends among them.

This year the inhabitants of the village suffered much from fever and ague, which generally yield to their own simple remedies, chiefly cream of tartar and bark. They had also the misfortune to lose the whole of their first crops by locusts, which at the beginning of the year, the first time for fifteen years, had paid them a predatory visit, and consumed every thing that was consumable, leaving the whole country literally desert. Such, however, are the fruitfulness of the soil, and the nature of the climate, that when the locusts took flight, other crops were immediately sown, and came to perfection without any additional tillage or labour, except merely scattering the seed upon the ground, and dragging a bush over it.

Here I saw a man with a very unsightly sore on one side of his neck, from which he seemed to suffer great pain; and, on inquiring the cause, I was told that it had occurred three days before from the bite of a "*pasanga*," a venomous species of spider, commonly the size of a large walnut, but I have been assured that they are sometimes seen "full as large as a mouse!!"

24th. Very pleasant weather: left San Luis about noon, and travelled through woods, and vales, and glens, some of which last we concluded to be at least six hundred feet deep, surpassing in magnificence any thing of the kind I had ever before seen. We crossed the river Salinas eleven different times in the space of four leagues, and then, allured by the charming situation, we halted on its banks, and pitched our tent near the solitary dwelling of a respectable farmer, the proprietor of a great extent of land in this luxuriant district. We found this romantic seclusion embellished not only by the delicious stillness of an autumnal evening, but also by the presence of as lovely a creature in the joyous spring of life, as ever attracted admiration's eye. Her sweet countenance of Roman mould—her splendid white teeth, brilliant black eyes, and matchless head of hair, actually rivetted the admiration of us all, and proved that poetry is not always fiction.

"Darker than night, her locks fell clustering
O'er her smooth brow, and the sweet air just moved
Their vine-like beauty with his gentle wing."

25th. A thick mist overhung the tops of the mountains and obscured the sun, which made our travelling very pleasant; but I find I am no longer capable of giving even a faint description of the scenery. Let it, therefore, be supposed by the admirers of romantic magnificence, that all that mountains, rocks, woods, and water can compose, on a scale of superlative grandeur, continued

to excite our admiration during this day's journey of eight leagues, in which space we forded the same river as yesterday, fifteen different times, in its serpentine course through the valley. In the evening we arrived at the ancient Jesuit mission of Salinas, which, after the expulsion of that enterprising fraternity, whose labours in this country were most beneficial, and every where prosperous, passed into the hands of Franciscan friars, one of whom, in his eightieth year, received us at the door of the convent—an irregular building, with a church attached, surrounded by twenty or thirty huts, inhabited by the few Chiriguano Indians who have been converted to Christianity; but whatever the benefits may be that their conversion will obtain for them in another world, it certainly has not as yet gained them a single one in this. The only, literally the only instruction these poor people have received, is that of being trained to attend the summons of the convent bell morning and evening, when the whole population of Salinas, amounting, perhaps, to two hundred, assemble within the mouldering walls of the chapel, to witness half an hour's performance of religion—a formal round of duty, in which there is no want of external decorum, but not a single spark of vital religion, of true godliness, is kindled in the soul. Complaints of the disappointments they have met with in a Christian life, are not unfrequent among these converts; but that which they seem to lament more particularly, is a restriction which they say has been rigidly imposed by their pastor, the venerable Franciscan friar, never to have on any account, more than one wife at a time, and this wife, whether they like her or not, they say they are bound by their baptismal vows to love and to cherish to the end of her days, which they consider a hard case, and so opposed to the habits and customs of their own nation, that many of them, to avoid the “pe-

sadumbre" (heaviness) of the marriage yoke, have absconded from the Christian mission, and rejoined their barbarous tribe.

After the ceremony of baptism, the priest, satisfied that sufficient has been performed for the happiness of his convert in this world, and for his salvation in the next, takes no farther pains to instruct him in any useful art, or to give him the slightest knowledge of the benefits of civilisation, of which he remains all his life as utterly ignorant as any of his brethren of the savage horde which he has left. The only advantage arising from the mission, is the maintenance of peace between the Indians and the Creole inhabitants of the province; as the former in large parties pay frequent visits to their friends in the mission, and find thereby that they are not to consider white men as their natural enemies, but that they may traffic and live amongst them without fear or danger.

The Chiriguano Indians are of a copper colour, approaching to sallowness, with long shining black hair, and, as the Indians of South America generally are, without beards. Had I seen them in Europe, I should have supposed them to be Chinese, so closely do they resemble those people in their features; a circumstance which supports the theory, that these parts of South America were originally peopled from the shores of the eastern world. Like all savages, they are fond of what they call *ornamenting* their persons; one method of so doing, is cutting a round hole, as large as a moderate sized coat button, in the lower part of the under lip, in which, between the teeth and the lip, to fill up the hole, they insert a coin, and sometimes a common button.

I was particularly struck with their strong, well-built, muscular frame; and that they are strong may reasonably be inferred from the fact, that they can walk to the

town of Tarija in sixteen or eighteen hours. Whenever the Friar of the convent requires any thing from thence, he despatches two or three of the Indians of his mission, who frequently perform the journey in one day, and return to the convent the next—the shortest distance for pedestrians to Tarija is thirty leagues.

The convent of Salinas is situated in a fertile valley, inclosed by prodigious mountains, thickly wooded with various kinds of timber; but the great prevalence of rains and mists, which, at certain seasons of the year, under a tropical sun, may be compared to steam, must make the climate insupportable to a European. I did not hear, however, of any diseases, except *chuchu*, (ague,) which sometimes rages through the province like a plague.

The sugar-cane, tobacco, rice, maize, and cotton, all come to perfection in particular districts; black cattle multiply and thrive every where, to the satisfaction of the farmer, but the moisture of the climate is unfavourable to sheep, and also to the growth of wheat, which, however, in distant parts of the province, is very fine and abundant. It has been truly remarked, that the province of Tarija possesses a climate of such various temperature, that an inhabitant of Norway or of Italy, may travel over it with his barometer in his hand in search of a climate like his own, which he will be sure to find in every respect suited to his constitution and habits.

Is it likely, it may be asked, that a country, one of the most fertile regions of the globe, clothed for the most part in perpetual verdure, producing every commodity of the first necessity for the subsistence of man, and capable of affording all that tends to the convenience and luxury of life, will remain for the lapse of three more centuries neglected and almost unknown?

Ten thousand families, who are elsewhere living upon scanty means, in a state even of penury and distress,

might with those same means live here in ease and independence in the midst of superabundant plenty. And would it not be idle to suppose, that the beneficial influence of civilisation, industry, and commerce, will not speedily extend to such a spot? We have seen within the short period of the life of man, in the northern hemisphere of this same continent, towns and cities spring up, and a powerful nation established, where all before was a trackless forest, the abode of savages and wild beasts. Innumerable similar cases, though not, perhaps, exactly parallel, may be found in the history of the world; greatness, and power, and distinction, have passed in regular succession over the nations of the earth; to except from this seemingly *established* order of things, a country, in which Providence has dispensed so many benefits peculiarly adapted to the enjoyment of mankind, would be an assumption altogether unreasonable, and wholly unsupported by the evidence of preceding events.

In the year 1787, San Alberto, Archbishop of La Plata, whose pious and benevolent character has caused him to be remembered throughout his vast diocese with every sentiment of veneration, addressed a manifesto to the Chiriguano Indians, on the subject of peace, and the restoration of several Spaniards whom they held in captivity. This manifesto was conveyed by two Franciscan friars, who undertook the embassy, accompanied by a numerous escort, charged with sundry articles for peace-offerings, such as woollens, cottons, beads, hats, scissors, needles, pins, bridles, spurs, besides cattle, mules, and mares—the latter, not for breeding, but for feasting upon—a fat mare being considered the first of luxuries by the gourmand Indians.

The manifesto of the archbishop, a copy of which I obtained at the convent of Salinas, was printed in two columns, one in the Spanish language, and the other in

the language of the Chiriguanos ; which it must have required considerable ingenuity and application to express on paper, as it has no alphabet of its own, and could have been written only from analogy in sound to the Spanish pronunciation. In this ingenious application, the Jesuits, in their day of domination, were particularly distinguished, having in a similar manner composed grammars and dictionaries of the Quichua, Aymará, and other original languages of the country, and translated into them several of their own works, all of which they printed for the convenience and benefit of the missions.

28th. Leaving the ladies of our party at the convent, in charge of the old Franciscan friar, who entertained us most hospitably, Colonel O'Connor and myself, accompanied by two or three friends, set out on another excursion ; and after an absence of eight days, during which time we penetrated about one hundred and twenty miles into the interior, we returned highly gratified with the pastoral life we had led, and convinced that we had seen, so far as nature is concerned, as fine, as fertile, and as inviting a country as any on the face of the earth.

At several places we could not resist stopping for the purpose of laying out parks and building castles, which we did to our hearts' content, on a scale of noble amplitude, and, when completed, if we chanced to dispute who was to be the possessor, it was requisite only to turn the head to the right or to the left, or proceed a few paces, to discover a situation even superior to the first. We also built several villages, which we had the satisfaction of seeing in the short space of twenty years rise to respectable towns ; and we shall be pardoned if we confess that our vanity was sometimes raised to a pitch of manifest exultation, on being pointed at as the founders of the colony of New Erin, by the numerous settlers

whom in illusory perspective we had established around us, in the full enjoyment of peace and plenty.

The manufactures which in the course of the twenty years, seemed to prosper the most, and which, indeed, we knew from the beginning could not fail, were those of woollen, sugar, paper, soap, and candles; of all which there is a very great consumption, and which, *previously* to our establishments, were very indifferent and extremely dear. A brewery, distillery, and tan-yard, also succeeded to the full expectation of the speculators. Among the trades that flourished, we thought we could particularly distinguish carpenters, smiths, masons, bakers, and even weavers; shoemakers, tailors and hatters, had as much work as they could do. It was pleasing to think, too, that women who were disposed to be industrious could find lucrative employment in spinning, knitting, washing, and in the management of a dairy. All this we distinctly saw through Time's telescope. *Apropos* of dairies. One day at Tarija, having expressed a wish for butter at breakfast, a lady undertook to make me some, as it was not to be purchased; indeed, it was almost unknown. The next morning I found the lady, her daughters, and servants, in the saloon, busily at work, beating with a spoon about a quart of cream in a wash-hand-basin, which they handed from one to the other as they tired by the exercise; and when the butter was produced, fresh cream was put into the basin, and so on until a sufficient quantity was obtained: a churn has never been heard of here.

June 5th. We all departed from the convent on our return to Tarija, where we arrived in five days, and long continued to talk with delight of our interesting excursion.

14th. Part of a skeleton of a "Tarija giant" having

been recently discovered about five leagues distant from the town, Colonel O'Connor and I set out, with an unusual share of curiosity, provided with spades and shovels, to explore the grave. Some of the masses of bone that we dug up were larger and heavier than any thing of the kind I had ever seen or had an idea of, but to what part of the body they belonged I cannot take upon me to say, for they were shapeless blocks, more like lumps of free-stone than any thing to which I can compare them. Half of the head was tolerably preserved, but as four men could scarcely lift this fragment, it was impossible to carry it on mules; I therefore contented myself with part of the under jaw, in which were three perfect teeth, denoting to our astonishment, that the monster to which they belonged was of the carnivorous species. In front of the head, but broken off from it, was part of a tusk, like that of an elephant, which measured four feet and a half in length: this discovery at once destroyed my wavering faith in the story of the "*gigantes de Tarija*," and while it proved beyond a doubt that the bones were not human, it left us no alternative but to ascribe them to the *mastodon*, or carnivorous elephant; an animal of the antediluvian world, unknown to the present, and not very long since ascertained to have existed.* The whole were lying in a whitish hard sandy clay, not very far from the surface. When I discovered the tusk, I wrote to a friend in Potosi to banter him on his belief in the giants; but the following extract from his reply will show that neither the tusk, nor the detailed account I

* The remains which I brought to England were immediately recognised by the late Doctor Wollaston as having belonged to the *mastodon*; they are very distinct from those of an animal discovered several years ago near Buenos Ayres, called I believe, the *megatherium*, the enormous skeleton of which I saw in the cabinet of Madrid.

gave him of my discovery, had the effect of altering that belief which is still pertinaciously maintained by many of his countrymen. "It appears that you wish to attribute to elephants the enormous bones that are found in the vicinity of Tarija; examine with much attention before you characterise them as such, because others, among whom is Doctor Redhead, have examined into the subject, and have not assigned them to any such species."

Theorists who have reasoned on the probable connection, at one time, of the western coast of South America with the eastern coast of India, may probably consider these elephants, notwithstanding their carnivorous distinction, as some support to their argument; and when to these they add the Chiriguano Indians, whose features so closely resemble the Chinese or Japanese, existing in the neighbourhood of those elephants, the proposition may be put in so questionable a shape as to provoke discussion. It is also a subject of interest to enquire how these monstrous animals came into the vale of Tarija, surrounded as it is by a mountainous rampart, accessible, as I have been credibly informed, in only four places, and those with great difficulty, even to mules and horses. Over three of those places, the most frequented and most convenient in the whole rocky barrier, I have myself travelled, and certainly I do not think it possible that any elephant could have there passed. If, on recurring to theoretical causes for their presence, it be said that they were floated on the surface of the waters at the universal deluge, and deposited as those waters subsided, the sceptic may then ask, how comes it that their remains have been found in such abundance in the vale of Tarija, and so seldom in any other part of South America, or of the world?

People *will* conjecture, and as every body assumes a right to do so, upon any and upon every subject, I shall avail

myself of the general privilege, and state my conjecture to be, that the animals, whose skeletons are found in the mountain-girt vale of Tarija, must have been therein deposited by the subsiding of the waters of the deluge, on the surface of which they had been floated. When I came to this conclusion on the subject, I was not aware that I had the following high authority for its reasonable probability :

“In central Asia, the bones of horses and deer have been found at an elevation of 16,000 feet above the sea, in the Himalaya mountains. The occurrence of these bones at such enormous elevation, and consequently in a spot *unfrequented by such animals* as the horse and deer, can, I think, be explained only by supposing them to be of antediluvian origin, and that the carcasses of the animals *were drifted* to their present place, and lodged in sand *by the diluvial waters*. This appears to me *the most probable solution* that can be suggested ; and, should it prove the true one, will add a still more decisive fact to that of the bones of diluvial animals found by Humboldt on the elevated plains of South America, to show that ‘all the high hills and the mountains under the whole heavens were covered,’ at the time when the last great physical change, by an inundation of water, took place, over the surface of the whole earth.”*

* Buckland, Reliquiæ Diluvianæ, p. 223.

CHAPTER XIII.

Departure from Tarija—Serious catastrophe—Guide loses his way in a snow-storm—Bivouac on the desert of Yavi—Good effect of example when in difficulty—Heartfelt farewell to an old and trusty friend—Condor.

June 26th. The disturbed state of the provinces through which my road lies to Buenos Ayres, has, notwithstanding the agreeableness of my abode, involuntarily detained me at Tarija until this day, when, in opposition to the considerate advice of my friends, I put my long-threatened resolve into execution, and continued my journey, after giving and receiving many cordial embraces, the impressions of which can never be effaced from my heart. The kindness of my worthy friend, Colonel O'Connor, continued to the last, for he furnished me with peones, mules, and horses, from his own establishment, and escorted me himself the first stage to a village, where I took up my quarters for the night, under a shed in front of the miller's house. The prodigious quantity of Indian corn that was heaped, like bean-stacks, round the village, all the produce of a very few acres of cultivation, was a striking feature, and proved the fertility of the soil.

27th. Pleasant weather; I travelled ten leagues through an uninhabited country, and then stopped at the house of a major domo of a large estate, belonging to the prefect of Tarija, who had given me a letter, desiring that I might be well received, but no stimulus was requisite to induce him to provide me with every thing that the country afforded; mutton, poultry, eggs, *chicha*, milk, and aguardiente, were all produced in abundance.

28th. A cloudy November-like day; travelled through

a rocky ravine, and, for the sake of good pasture for the animals, stopped for the night under the lee of some old walls, which afforded very comfortable shelter from a high wind that blew from snow-covered mountains, towering, not "Alps on Alps," but Cordillera on Cordillera, around us.

29th. What a journey of weariness and woe! Cruel was the sight to see us toiling up full fifteen miles of a continued steep to the summit of the Cordillera, that here forms a ridge round the southwestern extremity of the province of Tarija; but crueller by far to behold the wretched, wretched mule that slipped on the edge of a precipice, and—away! exhibiting ten thousand summersets, round, round, round! down, down, down! nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand fathoms deep!—certainly not one yard less, according to the scale by which I measured the chasm in my wonder-struck imagination, while I stood in my stirrups, straining forward over the ears of my horse, (which equally trembled with alarm,) and viewing the microscopic diminution of the mule, as it revolved with accelerated motion to the bottom, carrying with it our whole grand store of provision. If I say that ten minutes passed away in silent consternation, without an eye being turned from the luckless object of our dismay, I am sure I do not exaggerate above one half. "Alas!" said I, in that plaintive tone of despair which may well be imagined of any one who finds himself suddenly deprived of all his means of subsistence: "Alas! what is to be done?"—" *Quien sabe!*" said the guide—" *No hai remedio,*" (There's no help for it,) said the peones. Still, I thought we might descend and at least recover our provisions, but, "nothing is more easy than to do mischief, nothing more difficult than to calculate consequences." Fortunately my dog Carlo, accustomed to follow and drive in the straggling mules,

pursued the present involuntary straggler down the steep, and that too, rather more hastily than he intended; but the extreme difficulty he experienced in rejoining us clearly demonstrated that, had any of us gone into the abyss, the chances were we should never have again got out. As to the poor animal that lay extended motionless at the bottom, my only hope now was, that life had fled, and that it would be saved from farther suffering in being torn to pieces by the condors, which in a few minutes after our departure was sure to happen.

A lowering sky, approaching storm, and intense cold, hurried us away from the scene of disaster, when, soon clearing the pass of the Cordillera, we descended into a plain, the bounds of which the eye could not reach—a perfect desert without semblance of tree, or bush, or shrub, of any kind. After travelling about two leagues over its trackless surface in the teeth of a snow storm, the guide said he had lost his way; the sun had just set: we had no retreat, and therefore no alternative but to stop where we were; such, indeed, was the piercing bitterness and violence of the wind, carrying with it sleet, weeds, and gravel, that the animals, of their own accord, wheeled round and refused to face it. The peones, wholly unaccustomed to such weather, were as much affrighted as landsmen in a storm at sea, and all of us, unprepared to resist the sudden inclemency, were so completely benumbed as to be disabled from untying the frozen cords composing the tackling of the baggage mules: we were therefore compelled to drag the cargoes to the ground as we best could, for no one had power to support or to unload them in the usual way. No sooner were the mules disburdened, than the peones fell flat upon the ground speechless and motionless; I thought they were dead or dying, but had neither the power nor the means of affording the slightest comfort,—every drop of

our *comfort* had rolled to the bottom of the precipice; we had nothing for it but to console ourselves with the old saying—" 'Tis well it's no worse,"—though worse it could not well be. Even the animals, loose and at liberty to wander, huddled together, seeming to endure the want of food with indifference, intent only on defending themselves against the terrifying fury of the storm. As the night advanced, the cold became so intense, that I doubt if any of the north pole adventurers suffered more than we suffered, for this simple reason, that they were well prepared against its effects; whilst we, in clothing adapted to the summer climate we had left but a few hours before, were literally taken by surprise, and had no anticipation of what was to befall us. I crept for shelter into an empty corn sack, and lay for some time with my dog in my arms, as wretchedly comfortable as circumstances would admit; but, when the darkness increased, the least movement of any of the animals, or a shivering groan from the peones, was a signal of alarm to Carlo, who, knowing it to be his peculiar duty at this time to be on the watch, sprang out ever and anon, to look round and enquire the cause. No persuasion on my part could prevent him from this annoyingly officious discharge of his duty, which, from the very circumstance of his being in my arms, he appeared to consider doubly incumbent on him to perform, probably imagining that I had placed my life in his custody, and that it now depended entirely on his vigilance. Another cause of his uneasiness was the careless state in which the baggage lay scattered about; this he was in the habit of seeing piled every night in a small circle, in the centre of which a sheep skin was always placed for his convenience, and the whole entrusted to his charge. These interruptions to a doze, which now and then came over me, I might perhaps have borne with, but the piercing blast that rushed in upon my chest

the moment Carlo rushed out was absolutely insupportable, and compelled me to banish him from the bag to lodge at my feet. I need not exaggerate the misery of our situation by adding that wind, frost, hail, snow, and sleet, increased during the night; be it sufficient to say, that the storm continued unabated, accompanied by the utmost rigour of winter at the southern pole.

30th. At daybreak the cold was such as I cannot describe, for I never before experienced any thing to equal it. My poncho and the sack in which I lay were frozen into solid boards: my broad brimmed vicuña hat had become as inflexible as Don Quixote's helmet: my teeth chattered with a noise such as would be made by a person "playing the piano in thimbles," and when I got up and attempted to walk, I felt like Witherington upon his stumps, for feet I had none; but, assuming a slight degree of his courage, I moved a little, then a little farther, then a little farther still, and at last found that I was really alive, which was more than I could vouch for with respect to my peones. The horses and mules had never stirred from the spot on which they had fixed themselves the night before, though I cannot say they were motionless, for they shivered immoderately in every limb, and three of them bled at the nose from the effect of the cold. Carlo, shrivelled up into the shape of an awkward crescent, with his back to the storm, formed a very conspicuous feature in the foreground of this picture of calamity; which, with the scattered baggage, the immeasurable plain of desolation that extended round us, its gloom nothing diminished by the pale cheerless glare of the sun, as he peeped winking above the horizon through the density of the atmosphere, would have furnished Callot with a deserving pendant to the most miserable subject of his "Miseries of War." Never did day dawn upon a more wretched bivouac:

man and beast were utterly helpless, and seemed to have resigned themselves for ever to the unrelenting bitterness of fate.

At this period of the year the sun was at the extremity of his northern course, yet, within the tropics, as I still was, he seldom passes the meridian without his influence being in some degree felt; therefore, as the day advanced, both the force of the wind and the intensity of the cold, though not altogether subdued, were sensibly diminished. Had not this been the case, it is by no means improbable that I should have been compelled to abandon all my worldly goods, and to trace my way alone, across the desert of Yavi, whilst my peones remained, like the poor mule in the *baranca*, to glut the insatiate maws of the condor and the eagle. I had the utmost difficulty in rousing these men from the state of lethargy in which they lay: I shook them, I rolled them on the ground, I stamped upon them, I bellowed in their ears through my hands closed trumpet-fashion, for the purpose of condensing and conveying the voice, which the roaring fury of the wind rendered absolutely necessary in order to make myself heard; but all these exertions, for a length of time, had no effect upon them, though they contributed not a little to restore life to myself. The exercise, the anxiety, and a legion of doubts and apprehensions that rushed into my mind, as to my probable abandonment in the desert, actually worked me into a mental fever, (a bodily one was impossible,) and the excitement enabled me to set an encouraging example, which, on occasions of extraordinary perplexity, is of paramount importance, and absolutely requisite to the attainment of good; without it, it often happens that nothing will be attempted, and it follows, even to mathematical demonstration, that, where nothing is attempted, nothing can be done.

Had I yielded to the torpor, which excessive cold is known to produce, and in which, for a considerable time, I felt as much inclination to indulge as my peones, I am convinced that those three men would have perished where they lay. But, roused at length by my exertions, and cheered by my example—for I, like a coward frightened into courage, had become desperate, and thrown off my poncho to make it appear that the cold was nothing, and that the dark blue approaching to purple at the end of my nose, and the tears that streamed from my eyes, were merely the consequences of so long fasting,—they gradually showed signs of resuscitation, and slowly proceeded to *pretend* to work, by moving the ropes, and the baggage, and the bridles, and the saddles, but without the least consciousness of what they were doing. I placed my hands in the trumpet form, at the ear of each, and loud as lungs were capable, I vociferated “Come along, my boys, with God’s will, to some hut, where we may find something to eat!!!” To this no answer was given; they continued busied in doing nothing, and appeared more like trembling ghosts performing some office of the dead, than substantial beings engaged in occupations of the living. At length, some pious ejaculations to the Virgin were audibly muttered, of which I took advantage to give a short version of Jupiter and the wagoner, and endeavoured to persuade them that the surest way of obtaining assistance from above was by diligently performing our duties below—a reflection which gave additional stimulus to my own exertions, while it had the desired effect with the peones, who now commenced in good truth their preparation to depart. In bridling the horses, Tortuga, from cold, I suppose, refused to open his mouth as obediently as usual to receive the bit, when the peone, a little angry, said, “Why don’t you open?” giving the horse at the same time a

slight fillip on the nose, when the animal slipped his head from the benumbed grasp of the man and walked away at a slow pace, as slowly followed by the peone, reproaching him with his misconduct in the usual terms of the country. The consequence was that Tortuga, kicking up behind, quickened his pace, and the peone continued his invectives. Back went Tortuga's ears, but onward his pace. But, knowing him to be the most tractable and the most amiable creature in the world, I called out to the peone, "Let him alone, man, let him alone!" for I saw plainly that the animal was offended, but felt assured that in a few minutes he would return in good humour to his comrades. There was not the slightest apprehension of his straying or being lost in such a wide open desert, besides a horse is of too sociable a disposition to remain in solitude; we also knew, from previous experience, that even if we continued our march without him, he would gallop after us when he found himself alone; but, in any case, situated as we were, to lose him was impossible. Tortuga had now gained an eminence at a short distance from our bivouac, where he stopped for a moment, looking earnestly before him, with crest erect and ears pointed forward, in an unusually inquisitive manner, announcing that something extraordinary had attracted his notice. He neighed loudly and resolutely, as if challenging what he saw; this, we distinctly heard, was immediately replied to from the opposite side; upon which, haughtily throwing back his head, raising his tail, and, in a word, making the most of himself, as every dandy does before he ushers himself into company, he moved off with a high pompous gait, full of self-sufficiency, and, snorting defiance at us all, disappeared from our view. In an instant I sprang upon a mule, and soon reached the eminence, whence I saw that he had joined a wandering troop of horses,

which, wild as deer, and with all their swiftness, fled as I approached—my horse, my best horse, along with them! To have pursued over the boundless range that extended before them would have been little wiser than to pursue a shadow; but with my eyes I anxiously followed. I saw them once or twice wheel suddenly round, as if fearlessly to face a pursuing foe; then as suddenly did they continue their flight. Again I saw them stop, and mistrustfully examine the stranger that had joined them, and again they fled, until I could no longer distinguish their manœuvres; besides the distance they so quickly gained, my sight became perfectly dimmed, as if large drops stood in my eyes; the cold blast was certainly sufficient to draw tears, but I do not think that the oppressive fulness I felt was occasioned by the cold. Be that as it may, a long and audible respiration, which some would perhaps call a deep sigh, gave me immediate relief from feelings, such as I have experienced once or twice in my life, when taking leave of a friend whom I have had no hope of ever seeing again.

"My horse," said I to myself, "my best horse, my favourite horse, my companion, my friend, for so long a time, on journeys of so many hundred miles, carrying me up and down mountains, along the edges of precipices, across rivers and torrents, where the safety of the rider so often depended solely on the worthiness of his animal—to lose thee now in a moment of so much need, in a manner so unexpected, and so provokingly accidental, aggravates my loss. The constant care I took of thee proves the value I set on thy merits. At the end of many a wearisome journey, accommodation and comfort for thee were invariably my first consideration, let mine be what they might. Not even the severity of the past night could induce me to deprive thee of thy rug for my own gratification. And must I now suddenly say fare-

well?—Then farewell! my trusty friend! A thousand dollars are in that portmanteau: had I lost every one of them, they must, indeed, have occasioned regret, but never could they have excited such a feeling of sorrow as thou hast, my best, my favourite horse—farewell!"

Continuing our journey across the bleak wilderness of Yavi, at sunset we entered a valley, and stopped at a hut, the first habitation we had seen in the course of two days' long journey. Here the inhabitants were crouched round a fire in the middle of the floor, muffled in skins of sheep and llamas, wailing bitterly the inclemency of the weather, which they all said was such as they had never before experienced. It was impossible to prevail on them to procure us something to eat, though, in our famished state, we did not long stand upon ceremony, for we selected with eagle eye a llama from a flock in a pen adjoining the hut, and, leading it to slaughter, soon prepared a banquet to our taste.

July 1. A very strong and cold south wind still continued, but the sun shone powerfully, and counteracted the wintry effects of the weather. Our route again lay through a desert country, stony and rugged, in which more than once I was very sensibly reminded of the loss I had recently sustained. When the sun was setting, we fixed upon as sheltered a spot as the desert afforded, and, although the night was extremely cold, our situation was altogether luxurious, compared with that of the 29th.

2d. Weather moderate, the road continued over a naked and interminable wilderness, in which small flocks of vicuña and guanaco were the only living creatures to be seen. In the evening, having crossed a stupendous ridge of the Cordillera, we descended into a narrow valley, where we bivouacked under the lee of a magnificent rampart of rocks, and regaled with enviable

appetite on the remains of our lama; a food, for the full enjoyment of which, good sound teeth are indispensable, and in this, it must be confessed, that Carlo seemed to have the advantage of us all.

3d. Fine pleasant weather; travelled through a valley, the same which I had occasion to mention on my journey from Salta to Potosi, and which continues without interruption a distance of two hundred miles. At night I stopped at the post of La Cueva, which I had passed sixteen months before; for, to my great satisfaction, I had entered the post road between Peru and Buenos Ayres, and the post huts, which I then considered abodes of misery, now appeared, on comparison with the accommodation to which I had since been accustomed, palaces of comfort. In the course of the day I had an opportunity of shooting a condor; it was so satiated with its repast on the carcass of a horse, as to suffer me to approach within pistol shot, before it extended its enormous wings to take flight, which was to me the signal to fire, and, having loaded with an ample charge of pellets, my aim proved effectual and fatal. What a formidable monster did I behold in the ravine beneath me, screaming and flapping in the last convulsive struggles of life!

It may be difficult to believe, that the most gigantic animal that inhabits the earth or the ocean can be equalled in size by a tenant of the air; and those persons who have never seen a larger bird than our mountain eagle will probably read with astonishment of a species of that same bird, in the southern hemisphere, being so large and strong as to seize an ox with its talons, and to lift it into the air, whence it lets it fall to the ground, in order to kill it and to prey upon the carcass. But this astonishment must in a great degree subside, when the dimensions of the bird are taken into consideration,

and which, incredible as they may appear, I now insert *verbatim* from a note taken down with my own hand.

"When the wings are spread they measure sixteen paces (forty feet) in extent, from point to point; the feathers are eight paces (twenty feet) in length, and the quill part two palms (eight inches) in circumference. It is said to have powers sufficient to carry off a live rhinoceros."

4th. All the brooks and streams we crossed in the early part of the morning were frozen so as to bear the animals without the ice even cracking, though the effect of only one night's frost; but the sun (as it may be supposed, just in or about the line of the tropic of Capricorn) is, during several hours of the day, as hot as at our midsummer, and wherever his beams touch, the ice yields to their influence.

I arrived early at the village of Humaguaca, where I obtained excellent accommodation for the night. The extraordinary severity of the weather for the last few days seemed to be a subject of general conversation and lamentation.

I omitted mentioning in its proper place, that the condor I shot yesterday measured ten feet from point to point of the wings when extended, and the longest feather, when pulled out, was three feet in length; but the people at the post-house assured me, that the bird was a *pichoncito* (quite a chicken.) This slight remark is to prevent the reader from being entrapped (if he has not been so already) into the supposition, that the dimensions of wings and feathers, and the ox, and the live rhinoceros, &c. within the inverted commas, were meant to apply to *my* condor. By no means. That paragraph is, as I have stated it to be, copied *verbatim* from a note of my own; but the reader will probably lower the tone of chuckling triumph, which, with no very kind-

ly feeling, he may have exultingly assumed over the author, when he is giving to understand, that the said note was taken from the "Travels of Marco Polo," and those who desire to know all the *facts* of the subject, may consult Marsden's edition of Marco's Travels, where, from chapter xxxvi. as also from a note attached to it, they will find that I have rather diminished than exaggerated the account of this monstrous bird, "the existence of which seems to have been universally credited in the East." Indeed Marco Polo, in his "most noble and famous travels, no lesse pleasaunt than profitable," professes, like other travellers, "to give knowledge of the strange and marvellous things as they were seen by him; and that which he saw not he declares by report of those who were wise, discrete, and of good credite." Now, although he did not *see* the bird, he *heard* of it from those whose 'credite could not be doubted;' and therefore, according to the dimensions so accurately given, it must have been a very large bird indeed, infinitely larger than *my* condor, but still a mere sparrow, compared with another bird equally celebrated, —that which pounced upon the famed steed Bayardo, and parted the combat between Rinaldo and Gradasso—

"A bird of wondrous size, and dreadful strength,
And full *three yards* his bill's enormous length;
His plumes were inky black, of vast extent;
His hooky claws on spoil and ravin bent;
His eyes were fire, and cruel was his look;
And like two sails his ample wings he shook:
Ne'er have I seen, nor heard, in times of old,
Of such a bird *——"

nor I either.

* Hoole's Ariosto, B. xxxiii.

CHAPTER XIII.

Wonderful valley—Abundance of wild fowl—Situation of the town of Jujui—Receipt of cash—Loss of cash—Desertion—Trait of integrity—Unworthy consequence—Don Carlos Paulo—Reverse of fortune—Happy meeting with an old friend—Purchase of a birlocho—Recognition of an old brother officer—An estate in the neighbourhood of Jujui—Strange request of a mother and daughter.

July 5th. Morning, hard frost; at noon, heat of the sun such as to compel me to throw off poncho, coat, and vest; and at nightfall I was again glad to wrap myself in them all. I arrived by the light of a brilliant moon at the single post hut of Maimara, where travellers who can be satisfied with the best that can be obtained, may lay themselves down contentedly to rest for the night.

6th. The road led over loose stones, and frequently across the stream that winds through the wonderful valley already described. From beyond Humaguaca to Jujui, a distance of nearly one hundred miles, this road continues in the middle of a deep and narrow channel, that must have been scooped through the rocks and mountains, at some remote period of the world, by means of an irresistible flood, of the power of which the human mind can form no conception; for it has been justly said by a recent traveller,* that all the snows of the Andes, simultaneously melted, and rolling onwards with a mighty head at once, could not be equal to the forming such enormous excavations. Yet, that water was the powerful agency, it cannot for a

* Captain Andrews's Journey, vol. ii.

moment be doubted; its action is visible up to the loftiest summits of the mountains. Truly the mind is overwhelmed with astonishment at the sight of these stupendous chasms; no language is adequate to describe the mighty magnificence of their conformation, or its effect upon the senses.

In the evening we arrived at El Volcan, a wretched post hut, where nothing was to be had for love or money; but in the neighbourhood were many *cienagas* (pools and marshes) covered with wild fowl, in pursuit of which I sallied forth, with the avidity of a savage, to obtain subsistence by my own dexterity, armed with an old dragoon carbine, which, being an engine of wrath expressly manufactured for the destruction of man, was consequently never intended to contribute to the maintenance of his life by the amusement of sporting. But no sooner did I arrive at one of the *cienagas*, than all doubts as to good gun and good cheer vanished, for the abundance of game was such as to require neither double-barrelled Manton, nor a proficient in the art of shooting, to insure success. I fired, that is to say, I pulled my trigger, but that, indeed, is not to say what I expected, for I expected to see ducks, teal, widgeon, and I know not what besides, tumble in dozens and dozens at my feet. Unaccustomed to receive injury from man, the birds hovered in dense clouds round me, and seemed, in addition to their acquired confidence, to be aware of the harmlessness of the instrument with which they were threatened, and they actually passed so close, that the wind from their wings fanned me whilst I stood, up to the middle, in the marsh, snap, snap, snapping, my wretched lock and fireless flint, in the vain and greedy hope of obtaining, by one single shot, a superabundant meal for myself

and peones. I need not mention the mood of mind in which I returned to the post hut, half a league distant, to try if change of flint would occasion change of luck; but, having adjusted my carbine in the best manner with the very limited means I possessed, I set out a second time, and fired, actually *fired*! amongst a countless multitude, that sailed whistling through the air in circles above my head. From causes which to this day I attribute to a kind of serpentine construction in the barrel of my gun, only one solitary duck received the contents, and that unfortunate creature, for my share of it, might as well have fallen on the summit of the Ylimani, the edge of the precipice on which it tumbled being equally beyond my reach. It was, however, a very great and encouraging gratification to know that my gun could go off; therefore, rallying from my previous state of despair, I loaded, and had not long to wait the opportunity of another shot, the direction of which I was obliged to calculate on somewhat of a new mathematical principle, for the nature of my barrel was such as to overthrow all the known laws of projectiles, and to give to its contents, when discharged, a *helical*, or circumvolutionary motion; so that my shot may be supposed to have coursed the wild ducks and teal round the circle that they themselves described in their flight above me, making it to them a clear case of *saue qui peut*, or de'il take the hindmost. It is only in this way that I can account for the great success of my last shot, which seemed to have caught all the stragglers, and set my peones and myself a-plunging and floundering in the marsh, to pick up the wounded, the dying, and the dead, with which we returned highly gratified to El Volcan, where we soon unfledged our game, and, cutting it up in quarters, put it into a fry-

ing pan with some mutton suet and *aji*, and never did aldermen, in their happiest mood, devour their favourite meal with more enjoyment and avidity than we did this delicious fare.

7th. Travelled about five leagues to the post of Yala, where plenty is to be had: from this post onwards the country gradually loses its barren and desolate appearance; the inclosures for cattle, tracts of land under cultivation, and farm houses, apprise the traveller of his approach to the populous town of Jujui, which formerly enjoyed considerable trade and opulence, and which, notwithstanding its sufferings in the revolution, is still respectable. Jujui, on the verge of the southern tropic, has decidedly the advantage in situation of any town that I have seen in South America; it is built on an eminence between two rivers, in a spacious valley, while the majestic mountains that surround it are at a sufficient distance to admit of ventilation from the evening breeze, which regularly blows with a delightful freshness after the excessive heat of the day in November and December. At the present season (the winter of this clime) the weather is much like that in our month of April, without its frequent showers. On the sides and at the bases of the mountains, which are for the most part wooded, are many *quintas* and farms, the latter extremely profitable to the proprietors, notwithstanding the indolent manner in which they are cultivated; the former needing only the aid of a little art, and the introduction of a few comforts, as they already vie with any on the globe for luxuriance and beauty of situation.

At Jujui, the carriage road leading to Buenos Ayres commences; and here travellers from Peru to the latter city consider, to use a homely phrase, that 'the neck

of their journey is broken:’ in the thirteen hundred miles, or thereabouts, still before them, no serious physical interruptions are any longer to be apprehended, and provisions of some sort are always to be had. Here, then, I took up my abode, until I should understand “how the land lay ahead,” for in that quarter strong breezes and squalls still prevailed in the political horizon; also, until I should provide myself with some sort of carriage, or meet with a traveller to accompany me on the journey.

In consequence of the number of fugitive families from Salta, Tucuman, and other disturbed districts, who had taken refuge in this town, there was considerable difficulty in procuring a lodging; but, through the kind intervention of Doctor Redhead, whom I had the good fortune to find here, I succeeded in hiring a small empty house, at the rent of half a dollar a day, in which I soon made myself at home.

My journal, my private journal, my personal-narrative-common-place-scrap-book, is certainly a very appropriate depository for all little personal concerns, which being unanimously admitted, I take leave to introduce here a circumstance of that nature. And now I shall tell you how the author was suddenly enriched: how he was suddenly impoverished: how he was suddenly abandoned on the wide world: how he gave his sighs to the wind, and a fig for care.

The chief commissioner having very considerably sent me an order to receive a balance due from Don Victorino Sola, of Salta, on the sale of our galera, left in his custody on our passage through that town, I wrote to him mentioning how important that sum would now be to me, and requested him to remit it. By return of post I received a friendly letter from Don

Victorino, inclosing a check for one hundred and fifty dollars five reals, on his correspondent in Jujui, who immediately paid it, and thereby made me, if not the richest, certainly as independent, a man as any in the New World. My first step was to search through the town with diligence for a diligence to enable me to continue my journey, and I had the good fortune to find something of the kind in possession of my old friend Don Marcos, to whose hospitality I stood indebted for a good lodging and supper on my first visit to this place, and which I do not forget, although the reader may. I examined, disapproved, approved, bargained, higgled, purchased the vehicle: then, passing my right arm under Don Marcos's left, proceeded from his house to mine, to give formal ratification by bill, cash, and receipt. On leaving the house of Don Marcos, and when in the middle of the street, a ceremony of infinite importance interrupted our progress for a moment, but only for a moment—it was merely the change of our position, which the custom of the country among *gente decente*, and the good breeding of Don Marcos, rendered absolutely indispensable. He therefore withdrew his arm from mine, civilly touched his hat, and, passing behind me (for to have passed in front would have been rude) to the left side, there gave me his right arm, and then we proceeded according to rule—a rule as strictly observed in this country as in Spain, where the *right* is invariably given as the post of compliment and honour. On our way home, the praises of Don Marcos were lavished on the “very superior carriage” he had ceded me a downright bargain, and with which he had favoured me, solely on account of being an old friend, for whom he was desirous of giving, at any sacrifice, a decided proof of his esteem.

The bill and receipt being prepared, I counted out two hundred and fifty dollars from my portmanteau; the one hundred and fifty I had received in the morning would, when added to these, complete the payment; and with the intent of doing so, I went to the shelf in a dark corner of the room, where I had carefully deposited the recently acquired treasure, and found it to be—missing!

It would be tedious to mention the particulars of our minute and anxious search, because every body in the world knows "all that sort o' thing," and how a lost article occasions the examination of places, where we know to a moral certainty that it is not. I shall therefore not say one word about how carefully I searched in my bed and under my bed, in my portmanteaus and behind them, under the chair and the table, and latterly, how Don Marcos assisted me in scaling, by means of his shoulders, to a top shelf, without either of us considering that there was not a living soul in the house to have placed it there; my peones had gone, soon after I received the money, with two of my mules into the country to procure forage, and had not yet returned. At the expiration of half an hour, passed in conjecture which only increased our perplexity, my friend Don Marcos, seeing the necessity of cancelling, for the present at least, the bargain we had made, took up his receipt, and left me to re-search my house all over for that which I was certain I should not find, nor had any chance of ever again seeing.

"The robb'd that smiles steals something from the thief;
He robs himself that spends a bootless grief."

So I thought, but for the life of me I could not smile. Night came and far advanced before I retired to bed,

expecting every moment the return of my peones, for whose delay I could not account; the idle scoundrels must have joined in the public festivities, which had just commenced, in commemoration of the anniversary of the independence of South America, and to which people from far and near flocked to Jujui, to join in processions, horse racing, bull fighting, cock fighting (for which the clergy of this town are celebrated), dancing, drinking, and all the merriments of society turned topsy-turvy in holiday diversion.

Morning dawned, and noon arrived, without any intelligence of my peones, which induced those to whom I had complained of my loss to fix the robbery upon them, but not even a suspicion as to their dishonesty entered my mind. They often had had booty of greater consequence in their power, and opportunities much more favourable than the present for securing it, had they harboured any intention of the kind, of which I unhesitatingly acquitted them in the fullest manner. A letter delivered to me in the course of the day, notwithstanding the distressing disappointment it occasioned, confirmed the justice of the foregoing opinion. It was a joint letter from my peones, stating, in a strain of humble apology for their conduct, "that they feared to proceed to the lower provinces, as they should there have run the risk of being forced to join one party or other as soldiers; and that, in the second place, as I was about to sail for Europe on my arrival at Buenos Ayres, they might, after my departure, be compelled to remain there in want, before it should be in their power to return so great a distance to their homes:" they concluded by saying, that "they could not bring themselves to tell me of their intention to leave me, lest it should have met with objections on

my part, and have deprived them of a favourable opportunity, of which they had now availed themselves, to return to their families." This was the purport of their letter, and I confess I very sensibly felt the dilemma in which I found myself: I knew the importance of my loss, and the difficulty of supplying the place of two such good and trusty servants. On patient reflection, however, I saw nothing very reproachable in their conduct; I even doubted if I should have received, under similar circumstances, the attention of an apologetical letter from the same class of people in more civilised countries. And when I add that my mules, which they took to the end of their first day's journey, were safely returned, I need say nothing farther in support of the acquittal I have already pronounced; but one more circumstance is deserving of mention, not only as a strong trait of character, but as a convincing proof to Europeans, (those who are forward in exposing the vices of these people,) that all the virtues are not monopolised by their own countrymen.

The day before my peones absconded, they requested a settlement of their wages, to which, it being the termination of a quarter, I readily assented, and paid them what was due—deducting five dollars from each for the maimed mules mentioned at Cinti. They remonstrated against the penalty, stating that they required the money to remit to their wives at Potosi. I insisted that their wives had nothing to do with my mules; that I had suffered a loss of at least ten dollars for every one I deducted from their wages; that all the loss and inconvenience were entirely owing to their own want of care in putting on the pack-saddles; and that they must now submit to the penalty—"no hai remedio." If, however, they wanted money to send to

their families, I was willing to advance them twenty dollars each, which, according to an agreement in writing, I was bound to pay them on their arrival at Buenos Ayres, as a *bonus* for their services on so long a journey. Finding me inexorable on the subject of the penalty, they at last took the proffered twenty dollars each, and left the room, but in the course of half an hour they returned with that sum, saying, they would "rather let it remain until their arrival at Buenos Ayres." Next morning they left me in the lurch, as I have already described; but I am disposed to believe that that act does not deprive these *semi-barbarians* of the meed of praise due to their integrity on the subject of the money.

Being bereft in the same hour of my cash, and of those in whom my confidence was placed, and on whose care and attention all my comfort in the new world depended, occasioned very considerable wailings and forebodings, of that gloomy cast in which persons indulge when they imagine themselves the most unhappy creatures upon earth, and expect all their acquaintance to break their hearts in sheer commiseration of the misfortune (always magnified) that has befallen them. My expectations as to this general sympathy in my behalf were so completely baffled, that I discovered, as the day passed away, that if I did not set to work and help myself and my animals, we should all starve; for the whole town of Jujui had retired to the *siesta*, with as much indifference respecting us as though we had never existed, and I had not the least reason to suppose that they would rise in a more charitable mood. I therefore gave my sighs to the wind, and immediately went and drove my mules to the river to water, procured them plenty of forage, and then struck up a fire

in an out-house, at which I boiled my kettle, and sipped comfort and consolation from a cup of tea, which was excellent, and ought to have been so, for it had just cost seven dollars (twenty-eight shillings) a pound.

The difficulty of obtaining servants of any class in South America I had frequently heard of, and now experienced. Vain were my attempts for several days to procure relief from my situation of "all work," which I performed in the united capacity of groom, house-maid, cook, and own-man. The occupations of these several callings I felt fully equal to, and utterly disregarded the labour; but there was something peculiarly disagreeable, misanthropically wretched, in locking myself up every night in my solitary habitation, and proceeding, with a long mould in one hand and a pistol in the other, to examine the desolate premises before I retired to rest. In reality, there was not the slightest cause for apprehension of evil in Jujui, notwithstanding the practical proof I had had of the existence of light-fingered skirmishers when doors are left carelessly open, as I had left mine. My enquiries for a servant were at last answered by a Spaniard of good and respectable appearance, although his habiliments were precisely the reverse; but his address was of that kind which favourably prepossesses and generally proves the best letter of recommendation that a man can present. He offered, in few words, his services to attend me to Buenos Ayres, promising to perform all the duties of a servant with diligence, activity, and fidelity. I had been long enough in Spain to know something of the general character and disposition of Spaniards: no people in the world carry egotism to such a pitch; on any questions concerning their ac-

quirements or abilities, whatever be their situation in life, the trumpet of self-praise sounds aloud their perfections. This practice does not proceed from any corrupt principles—there is no intention of harm or deceit: like many national traits of character in all countries, it appears to be unobserved by the natives, although it is glaringly conspicuous to foreigners. The self-praise of Spaniards, gross even as it frequently is, is a custom, and nothing more, for they are not naturally a vain people. Whoever has chanced to hire a Spanish servant, and on presenting himself, has asked him—"Well, what are your abilities, what do you know of the duties of a servant?" must have received for answer—"I, sir, I know every thing." "Every thing! what do you mean by every thing?" "Every thing, sir, I know every thing in the world!" I therefore did not question the Spaniard on his merits, but asked him to whom I should refer for a character. He immediately placed himself in an attitude, andst assumed a tone, accompanied with an indignant curl of the nostril, which were altogether extremely disrespectful, and, just as I was about to say that I should have nothing to do with so unpromising a servant, he replied, that "I might refer to whom I pleased—but that, although he had been nine months lingering in the town, he was unknown to every body, and every body was unknown to him; still, he hoped that there were in the world some solitary occasions, in which the accident of a man's being destitute of friends would not be considered the only obstruction to his honest endeavours to better his condition." "Oh! you think so, do you?" said I; and in truth I thought in my heart that his hope was reasonable enough, but I did not tell him so; for, besides being nettled at his manner, I felt a sort of inflated pleasure in the idea of

my own consequence, which I could not hastily renounce; a consequence more general and more prevalent than any other assumed by mankind, and yet, of all others, the most vain, and the most inglorious—the consequence of having a few pounds, shillings, and pence more than our neighbour! This was the vantage-ground I possessed on the present occasion; and, although I could distinctly discern the stamp of honesty on the Spaniard's brow, even through the dark and humiliating mantle of distress in which it was shrouded, yet did I overlook it with an air of lofty indifference. In the course of a short conversation, I mentioned that I was as far from home, friends, and resources, as he was, and had not the means of paying such wages as he probably expected. "All I ask," said he, "is my daily bread, and free conduct to Buenos Ayres; if, when we arrive there, you give me some assistance to enable me to reach my native country, I shall feel grateful. I know not how to stipulate for wages."

The last sentence was firmly, nay, haughtily expressed; it was uttered under the pangs of wounded feelings, which are not easily described, nor can they be well understood by those who know nothing of the sufferings of honourable adversity. I felt myself suddenly thrust from my "vantage-ground," and all my "consequence" subdued.—"Call again to-morrow," said I.—"*Bueno*," said the Spaniard, and retired.

In the interim, I made enquiries in several quarters respecting the character and conduct of the applicant, the result of which was briefly and precisely this—"He *may* be an honest man; we know nothing against him, *except*, that he is a Spaniard, and served in the army of Spain—in the king's army."

"Time was," said I to myself, "when it was no dis-

grace to have served in the armies of Spain : time was, when the integrity of a Spaniard was proverbial, and his word considered as a bond throughout the civilised world, and assuredly some still remain unalterably true to those principles that every where distinguished their forefathers ; many, too, have served in the king's army, without any dereliction of honour or honesty. I shall e'en take this Spaniard into my service—I may go farther and fare worse."

When he called, and was informed of my decision respecting him, he expressed thanks in terms as warm and grateful as though I had appointed him to the dignity of a Potosi secretary, with a salary of five hundred pounds sterling per annum. "I have been told," said I, "that you have had the misfortune to serve in the king's army."—" *Es verdad*," (it is true,) said he, "a misfortune I must now consider it."—"You have then had your share of suffering in the revolutionary war in this country?"—"Yes," he replied, "from the very beginning to the very end ; that is to say, for a period of sixteen years, and whether or not with credit to myself, and loyalty to my king, these documents will show." Hereupon he searched in his hat, among cigars, a pack of cards, a piece of soap, a comb, a steel and flint, &c. (the hat is to a Spaniard generally, what the kitchen-drawer is to a cook—a receptacle for every thing in the world,) and, taking thereout sundry papers, placed them on the table, and left the room. The first document I opened was a royal commission, dated 26th March, 1816, appointing "Lieutenant Don Carlos Paulo to be Captain in the regiment of Fernando 7^o. vice Captain Don José Cumulat, killed in action."—" *Captain ! Don Carlos Paulo !*" said I to myself, with more than ordinary sensations of surprise, as I took up the

next document, which was dated 16th January, 1820, in the city of La Paz, wherein it appeared that Captain Don Carlos Paulo had presented himself, by order of the general of his division, to receive an arrear of pay, amounting to six hundred and fifty three dollars, the half of which, it was expressed in the certificate "he voluntarily returned for the good of the nation, in consequence of the urgency of the times. In virtue of which donation from a faithful subject (*fiel vasallo*) we give him the present certificate, &c. &c." Humph! this is, indeed, captain, very fair evidence of your loyalty, and of your generosity too, thought I, as I opened the next document, which proved to be the Viceroy La Serna's commission, dated 1st February, 1824, "promoting Don Carlos Paulo to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in his own regiment."

I cannot say from what cause, but positively I felt strangely abashed on reading this document, which I did two or three times over, meditating at the same time an apology, as if I had committed some offence, of which, however, my heart did not directly accuse me; though some how or other it did not feel easy on the subject.

The two next documents were dated after the royal game of goose was concluded in South America; the first, from the patriot General Urdininea, (to whose army Lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos and his regiment surrendered themselves prisoners, after a well contested battle,) was a passport, granting the lieutenant-colonel permission to retire "with his *servant* and baggage" to La Paz. This was evidence of better days than the present, even in misfortune; for it proved that he had fallen from bad to worse. The other was a certificate from his commanding officer, in the following terms:—

"I certify that Lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos Paulo is one of those officers who served in the Spanish army until the annihilation of the royal cause.—Given in Potosi, 25th April, 1825. Signed, José Maria Valdes, Colonel Commandant."

Among the papers were several acknowledgments for sums of money lent to various individuals by Colonel Don Carlos, when he was in a condition to exercise the principles of benevolence.

Is it not the saying of a Roman sage, that "the man who has been always fortunate cannot easily have a great reverence for virtue?" Are we hence to conclude, that the man who has been *unfortunate* is more likely to reverence virtue? 'Pon my life, I think so, and under the impression, I inclined more and more to my "unfortunate friend." Marmontel considered all servants, "*des amis infortunés*," and in that capacity Don Carlos attached himself to me, for I concluded our contract in these words—"From this moment, I pray you to consider me your friend, and not your master, which I can never suppose myself." "God will repay you, sir, for, with all my desire to do so, I never can."—Don Carlos was delighted, and so was I.

Having now acquired an "unfortunate friend," I set about preparing for my journey, and first, by "raising the wind," which my recent loss made it absolutely requisite I should do. The Americans have a great liking for watches, and notwithstanding the baskets full of Birmingham ware, "engine-turned, gold hands, and hardened dial-plates," that have been most unconscionably palmed upon them, they prefer a good English watch to that of any other country; mine was a gold one, cost me thirty-five guineas in London, and had all the appearance of what it really was, a good watch.

Thirty-five guineas being something more than one hundred and eighty dollars, I offered it very conscientiously for one hundred and fifty, from which I knew I should have to deduct, according to custom, a still farther sum, before a sale could possibly be effected. I hawked it from house to house, and shop to shop, in every one of which I was offered a price, but upon a scale that proved beyond a doubt how sensibly the market had been affected by importations from Birmingham; there was nothing in the market of Jujui so flat as watches, they were, in truth—all down. Eighty dollars was the highest sum offered, which I fortunately declined at the time, as the next day the bidder called on me, and offered a hundred dollars; I asked one hundred and twenty; he would not give a rial more; I proposed to split the difference; he would not advance a single maravedis. "Well, well," said I, "some watches are made to go, mine is one of them"—so I let it go. I was not more fortunate in the disposal of a Peruvian bridle and silver bit, a vicuña poncho, a pair of pearl ear-rings, worn by the Cholas of Potosi, and a few articles of my wearing apparel; but the amount of the whole removed all apprehension of want. We are told, that we should conduct ourselves in fortune as in health—enjoy it when good, bear it patiently when bad, under the hope, no doubt, that "worse luck now, better another time." So it proved with me, for, when in the act of comparing my finances with the probable expenses of the journey before me, and doubting their sufficiency to enable me to conclude the bargain for the carriage, who should enter my apartment but my old acquaintance and kind friend, the provost, Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz! I poured myself into his extended arms, and, in his cordial and pious

embrace, lost myself in a labyrinth of joy. My reverend friend was on his way to Buenos Ayres, on a diplomatic mission from his government, had but just arrived, and was proceeding onwards on horseback, when, accidentally hearing that I was in Jujui, bent on the same journey as himself, he stopped for the purpose of arranging matters between us on the subject.

After asking those thousand questions which every body asks, but nobody answers, on an unexpected and happy meeting, Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, dignitary of the church, and provost of the university of Chuquisaca, mentioned his regret at not being able to find a carriage to purchase for his journey, which, on horseback, with all its inconvenience, he observed, would not cost him less than five hundred dollars. "Give me three hundred," said I, "and you shall have a seat to Buenos Ayres in a very superior carriage," for so Don Marcos distinguished that which I had so nearly purchased from him. "*Corriente*," said my friend, which here means—"agreed with all my heart," and hands were instantly shaken in ratification of the bargain. "Come along, *amigo*," said I, and away we went, swimming in felicity. Never did Arab in the desert stoop exhausted at a casual spring with greater joy than that which I felt at this unexpected meeting.

On arriving at his door, we rapped and kicked for several minutes, which nearly lost us for ever the acquisition of the carriage, for Don Marcos happened to be indulging in the *siesta*, and, in ill-humour at being so inconsiderately disturbed, vehemently declared that he would not part with his *birlocho*.* On hearing this,

* A travelling carriage on two wheels, large enough for four persons.

my reverend companion, who had been led into this intrusion by my impatience, whispered to me, "*Amigo*, we had better withdraw, and return after the *siesta*," which we did, and on apologising for the interruption, Don Marcos, having had his sleep out, and being no longer drowsy, relaxed into his wonted good-humour, and led us forth to examine the *birlocho*, which was in an out-house where it had been not very carefully preserved for the last three years. On opening the door of the carriage, it was our fate again to disturb a whole family from their *siesta*, though our intrusion did not excite any symptoms of ill-humour: the creatures were of a more patient disposition—a cat and kittens had possession, and were reposing in a corner of one of the seats. "Poor cat, we shall do thee no harm," said Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, as he gently patted the animal, and which I did not consider by any means an unfavourable trait in the character of my friend. "What has made the lining in this state?" said I, taking up a shred of it. "Only the moths," replied Don Marcos with indifference; "but for all that," continued he, "it is a very superior carriage." The depredations committed by the moths were woful, but that could not be helped now. "And what is that under the seat?" said Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, who had put on his spectacles to aid his investigations. "Nothing," replied Don Marcos; "it is only a turkey hatching." There was nothing objectionable in that; so, after a few words aside with my *compagnon de voyage*, who disclaimed all knowledge whatever of carriages, it was agreed that I should purchase the *birlocho*, hire *capataz* and postilions, and receive three hundred dollars for a seat to Buenos Ayres. I concluded the purchase on the spot, and, without any in-

tention to over-praise the article because it became my property, I must confess that, when I had it brushed up and washed, it looked *à peu de chose près*, that is to say, within a mere trifle, as handsome and respectable as the common run of those two-wheeled covered carts generally used by washerwomen in and about London. The provost was delighted, and so was I.

August 1st, I received the following letter, of which, for the benefit of those who are not conversant in the original language, I subjoin a translation.

“MY MOST WORTHY CHIEF,

“The unfortunate situation in which I am here placed, and your goodness, encourage me to implore the favour to be taken in your company to Buenos Ayres, whence I may hope to reach my native country, being one of those Spanish officers who capitulated with the late General Don Pedro Antonio Olañeta, and having had the honour to know you in Spain, first in Estremadura, at the period of the siege of Badajoz, afterwards during three campaigns, in different parts, and lastly at Madrid, on the restoration of the king, I am induced to hope that your kind services, recently given to an unfortunate comrade, will now be extended to me, for which I shall feel for ever grateful, and remain your obedient humble servant,

FRANCISCO CANOS.”

The writer of the foregoing letter was companion in arms with Colonel Don Carlos, and as such, his companion in misfortune and adversity. The reader may suppose that the style in which I am addressed at the head of the letter, “*Mi mas digno Jefe*,” is merely flattery of the humble suitor, but it is not so; it is customary in Spanish for a military person to address his

superior in that form; and whatever I may be at the present day, I was at one time, for the space of four years, the "chief" of Francisco Canos, who was a sub-lieutenant of foot in the same brigade in which I was a "captain bold of horse," and at the conclusion of the Peninsular war, in which we had both followed the fortune of the Spanish arms from the Guadiana to the Pyrenees, Sub-lieutenant Canos was promoted to a company in the army of Murillo, and sent to South America under that general to be defeated by the patriots. Captain Canos now felt (and in truth I felt so too) that he had on me the claim of an old brother-officer; therefore, being aware of the truly helpless situation to which the fortune of war had reduced him, I did not venture into any reasoning or calculation with myself on the state of my finances, but yielded at once to a commanding voice that whispered in my ear—"Be mindful of good turns, for thou knowest not what evil shall come upon thee, and when thou fallest thou shalt find a stay."

Within one hour I had his name entered in my passport, under the head of "unfortunate friends." Captain Canos was delighted, and so was I.

And is this what has been termed, "binding up the wounds of the afflicted"—"pouring the balm of comfort into the heart of the distressed?" If it be so, how little do *we rich* deserve thanks or gratitude for an office that is attended with so little trouble and inconvenience to ourselves! The words of the philosopher—"The best and surest way of enlarging human happiness, is by a communication of it to others"—should be engraven on our hearts; but, so far as we generally observe them, they seem to have been traced upon sand.

I have elsewhere remarked, that pleasure is to be

derived from the remembrance of days of misfortune and sorrow that have passed; that there is also a pleasure in looking back on scenes of happiness, a long evening passed in conversation with my "unfortunate friends" has clearly proved; and blank must that life have been, the retrospect of which cannot afford, in a convivial hour, wherewithal to interest and amuse. On the present occasion, it was with no trifling degree of enthusiasm that we talked over the events of our campaigns in that long and sanguinary war, in which, at one period, every person was proud to show that he had borne his little share. Then we transported ourselves to Madrid, and there partook of the festivities of the national jubilee, given on the occasion of peace; then again, but with a different feeling, we examined the list of our old friends and companions, and it was not with indifference we noted the number of names that untimely death had since swept from the catalogue.

August 2d. Equipped myself in my riding gear, my poncho, rolled up, hanging like a cross belt over the shoulder, and having lighted my cigar by that of a gaucho, I mounted my mule, and proceeded to visit an estate about two leagues from the town, for which the proprietor asked six thousand dollars; the dwelling house and sundry other houses upon it were of course very indifferent; but still, many were the advantages the property possessed, and nothing could exceed the beauty of the situation; the extent north and south was something more than five miles, and about four east and west. A capital of little more than two thousand pounds would not only purchase the fee simple of the whole, but afterwards leave sufficient to establish the purchaser respectably and comfortably, with every

prospect of repaying the purchase money and all outlay in a very few years. The soil, it must be unnecessary to add, is unexceptionable, and for the produce of it the town of Jujui, even in its impoverished state, presents a fair and convenient market.

3d. Whilst in the midst of all the occupations of proximate departure, two women, a negress and mulatto (mother and daughter) entered my apartment, and, without any preliminary introduction to conversation, addressed me in these words—"For God's sake, dear gentleman, buy us both, and take us with you to Buenos Ayres."—"Good heavens!" said I, "what can have induced you to apply to me on such a subject?" "Oh! good sir Englishman, do buy us, we wish to leave our present master, and, as the price of us both is only five hundred dollars, you may gain the expenses of your journey by selling us at a profit at Cordova or Buenos Ayres, where slaves are at a much higher price than here." "I am sorry, my good women, for the severe disappointment which, it appears from your anxiety, my refusal is likely to occasion; but, in the first place, I have no means of conveying you; in the second, you are a sort of merchandise of which I have no knowledge, and the traffic in which is altogether out of my line." They seemed to pay little attention to my objections, but endeavoured to set forth their respective merits, in order to make it appear that the market, by this sale of themselves, was all in my favour. "I will wash for you," said the mother—"I will iron for you," said the daughter—"I will cook for you," said the mother—"I will do any thing and every thing for you," said the daughter—"And so will I," said the mother. "I doubt not, black ladies," said I, "your condescending dispositions, but you are quite too dear

for me; and even if you were cheap as shoe leather, I should decline the purchase; so, Heaven preserve you a thousand years!"

CHAPTER XIV.

Departure from Jujui—Terror of travelling in a coach—Adieu la voiture! adieu la boutique!—Unexpected return to Jujui—An important "If"—Friends threaten a separation—Estate of Monte Rico—Cross the Rio Passage—Village of Conchas—Meeting with a notorious character—His ultimate fate.

August 6th. The *birlocho superior* being thoroughly put in order by the very best workmen of Jujui, capataz and peones being hired, and every preparation made for our journey, precisely at twelve o'clock on this delightful day, Doctor Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, dignitary of the cathedral, and provost of the college of Chuquisaca, in a pair of sky blue cloth breeches, good enough for the journey, stepped into the *birlocho*; I followed, and, to my amazement, after me entered a juvenile companion of the doctor's, his disciple and secretary, for whom the doctor said there was "plenty of room." I muttered something or other in a grumbling tone, about my "never having intended to give two places for three hundred dollars;" but it was too late, and indeed impossible, to oppose the wish of my old friend; besides, the intruder was a civil, good natured sort of young fellow, just sallying forth under his tutor's auspices to see the world. It would, in fact, have required a heart of stone and a mind all selfishness, to have turned out the unoffending youth, who, suffused with blushes at my sudden and hasty remon-

strance, silently took his seat in a corner of the *birlocho*: therefore, without much ado, we were all shut up quite amicably together, and away we went, followed on horseback by my "unfortunate friends," who were in greater glee than they had been for many a long day before, and were altogether the happiest unfortunates in the world. But still, by far the happiest individual of the party was myself; partly from that feeling which every one must have experienced, on being himself the cause of happiness to others; partly on account of having passed the most difficult portion of the journey, and all before me appearing down hill; and partly owing to the satisfaction I felt in the comforts of an easy and excellent carriage; the luxury of which was doubly enjoyed after so much mule travelling, particularly since the never to be forgotten loss of my lamented Tortuga.

Our capataz and peones, in consequence of their repetition of the farewell cup at parting with family and friends, had acquired a spur in the head, that occasioned, no doubt, the speed at which they galloped through the streets of Jujui; and, while it indicated to their townsmen that they did not intend to be long absent on their journey, it seemed, at the same time, to put to the test the utmost capabilities of the "*birlocho superior*." Rapidly as we dashed along, this did not prevent me from admiring the magnificent scenery that surrounds Jujui; mountains in the distance towering to the sky, their snow-covered tops glistening in the mid-day sun; others beautifully wooded and descending in gradation into the plain, which requires only the industry of man to be rendered as charming an abode as any upon earth.

With respect to my companions, if it be their fate

hereafter to be drawn to execution in a birlocho, it is quite impossible that they can evince a greater degree of insensibility to every thing around them, nor can their thoughts be more engaged on the certainty of immediate death, than they were on the present occasion. They sat erect, in pale and silent horror; vacantly staring on each other, and with all their might grasping the cushion on which they sat, as if resolved to hold with tenacity the last short moment of life that fear seemed to whisper was now allotted to them. The velocity with which we bounded over the ground was certainly not a little alarming, but, seeing no immediate danger, I thought the motion of the carriage might have discomposed my friends, and therefore asked—"Are you sick?"—"A little" was the dejected reply. "Then you had better keep as near to that window as possible," said I. "Oh! it is not that kind of sickness," said the provost—"it is a kind of—a—in short, I think on horseback a much safer and pleasanter mode of travelling than this, and if I had had any idea of a coach, I should never have joined in the purchase of one." "What!" said I, "is this the first time you have travelled in a coach?" "The very first time in our lives that either of us ever saw one," said the provost. "And would to heaven it were the last!" said the disciple. "Amen," said the provost.

Persuasion, and assurance, and raillery, on my part, together with incredible stories of our stage coaches in England, with four horses, all driven and guided by *one* man, were incapable of inspiring confidence in either of my companions, who forcibly held on and continued in their misery, until our arrival at a private house, where we stopped for the night, though only between two and three leagues from Jujui.

I am one of the most careful persons imaginable on a journey, and never omit the close examination of wheels, nuts, and screws, on every opportunity; but, in saying this, I do not pretend to excuse myself from certain interested motives, arising from a feeling of self-preservation. On arriving then at our destination for the night, I proceeded to examine if all was as it should be; when, on the very first glance, I involuntarily clapped my hands in ecstasy of woe, and exclaimed—"Adieu la voiture! adieu la boutique!" which signifies neither more nor less than—"It's all over with the *birlocho superior*!" The scene of destruction that met my horror-struck eyes too plainly proved that my companions had greater cause of fear, and were infinitely nearer the point of real danger, than I, or even they themselves, in all their agony, had imagined. How, in the name of wonder, did we arrive here?—that's what I want to know. But I need not indulge in that general propensity to relate, with a teasing minuteness, all the particulars of any untoward event that accidentally befalls us, as if imploring compassion, which is seldom obtained, but, even if obtained, avails us nothing as a remedy for the evil. In a word, then, from want of use and the dryness of the climate, the spokes of the wheels had not only all loosened, but several of them had worked from their sockets, and stuck out, 'like quills upon the fretful porcupine.' Add to this, every repair of every kind made by the artisans of Jujui had given way and fallen to pieces. The provost adjusted his spectacles, and, with a countenance gloomy and blue as his breeches, stalked round and round the wreck, followed by his disciple with a cigar in his mouth, but neither of them uttered a single syllable; they looked confusion in each other's counte-

nance and retired. The capataz and peones threw themselves on the ground, not indeed to weep, but to sleep: they all yielded to the effects of the stirrup-cup, and left me to manage my own concerns as I might think fit. Never was man more suddenly hurled from the acme of delight into utter perplexity, and at the same time more remote from counsel and assistance, than I was. My friend, Don Manuel Martin, had filled his head so full of the sense of others, as to exclude every particle of his own: his knowledge of books was profound, but of the world, of men, of things, and of the little ingenuities requisite to be practised in life, his knowledge was altogether as shallow, weak, and nugatory, as a child's; his disciple, an infant. I plainly perceived, that if our distress admitted of remedy, it must be applied by myself; and this was precisely my greatest stimulus to exertion. I proposed, and I must admit with the hearty concurrence of Don Manuel Martin, that a large sacrifice should be made on our parts, to induce Don Marcos to take back his "*birlocho superior*," and that we should then proceed on horseback to Tucuman. With this object in view, I galloped back to Jujui, and, riding through the streets, I excited no small share of curiosity among the inhabitants, who, from the rate at which I had left their town a few hours before, imagined that I might have been anywhere but "back again." On finding my friend Don Marcos, I related to him, in somewhat of a suppliant tone, what had befallen us, and offered to restore to him his *birlocho*, with "all its repairs," and sacrifice a hundred dollars of the purchase money, if he would refund the difference. "With the greatest pleasure," was the instant reply of my worthy friend. "Many thanks, my dear friend," said I,—"*If*," continued Don

Marcos, whom I had too hastily interrupted—"if you had applied before I paid away the money, but *now* it is totally out of my power to accede to your proposal." What could I say to this?—I urged, it is true, but urged in vain, for three quarters of an hour, for it was evident that Don Marcos was resolved never again to become possessed of the "*birlocho superior*." I had no alternative but to gallop back, and fall to, heart and hand, to repair the wreck, which, before the sun set, I succeeded in doing to the pink of perfection. I knotted, spliced, woulded, welded, and secured, with a neatness quite unknown to any body in the vicinity of Jujui, and with a solidity equally unknown to those who have never had an opportunity of trying the effect of bullock's hide, which, when cut in strips and applied wet, shrinks in drying, and ultimately becomes, in every sense of the phrase, hard and solid as iron; and, indeed, when hide is applied in cases of this kind, it is quaintly called here "the iron of South America." Having firmly bound a branch of a tree, bent into a hoop, to the spokes, midway between the nave and the outer circumference of the wheel, and from that hoop, between each spoke, carried strips of hide through a *grummet* round the nave; it exhibited, when finished, and seemed to give confidence to every body but his reverence, who imagined the disaster was not to be remedied by human ingenuity. When I presented myself before him, expecting his benediction for the work I had laboriously performed, he addressed me with all the dignity and gravity of his calling, to this effect: "Señor Don Edmondo, the hand of man is incapable of repairing the damages of the *birlocho*, so as to give *me* confidence of travelling in it with safety; it must fall to pieces on the road, and (here he made the sign of the

cross) heaven preserve us from the calamity of sudden death! from the risk of which, it being my duty to guard all good Christians, I now beseech you, without any interest but that of your own benefit, to abstain from your rash purpose of proceeding in that frail machine; and farther, I demand as a right, that my three hundred dollars be forthwith returned, for I have resolved to proceed on horseback." I looked for the full space of two minutes in the face of the divine before I thus spoke—"Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, there are not in any language so many proverbs and trite sayings as in yours, and among them there may probably be this, which is very common in mine—'No tricks upon travellers.' We have voluntarily embarked in the same boat, and the accidents attending our voyage must be mutually borne; moreover, your three hundred dollars are in the possession of Don Marcos, who will not refund a single maravedis. As to *your* resolution to proceed on horseback, that is so unquestionably your own affair, that I shall not presume to interfere in it; but I take the liberty of assuring you, Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, *amigo mio*, that it is *my* resolution, within half an hour, to be upon my journey in the *birlocho superior*." I cannot say if the tone of decision (mixed, perhaps, with a spice of angry feeling on account of the hint that I should bear the whole weight of our misfortune) was the cause of imposing silence on his reverence—whether it was or not, one word farther he did not utter on the subject, but seating himself on a stone, he unclasped his breviary, which he carried under his arm, and there seemed to be intent on the perusal of it, whilst I was preparing to execute my resolution. The capataz and peones, being all hired by me, at liberal wages, readily obeyed my

commands, and within the given time every thing was ready for our departure. Before stepping into my birlocho, I considered it no more than common civility to bid adieu to my friend, really a worthy, good man, with, as I before hinted, a head full of books: but "books," says the philosopher, "can never teach the use of books. The student must learn, by commerce with mankind, to reduce his speculations to practice, and accommodate his knowledge to the general purposes of life."*

"Adieu! Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, adieu!" said I, looking tenderly towards him, with one foot on the step of the birlocho, in the attitude of entering, which gave intimation how soon we were to be separated--perhaps for ever.

"What then, Don Edmondo! you are really going in that crazy vehicle?"—"As sure as you are there *amigo mio*," said I, "and with as little delay as possible, for I am in a hurry to catch the monthly packet at Buenos Ayres." "Well, well," said the provost, "stop at least a few minutes, until horses are saddled for the disciple and myself, that we may all proceed together, for I have no objection to your company, except in the birlocho." "With all my heart," said I. Two horses were immediately *lassoed* from the drove we had hired to take us to Tucuman, and away we went, I, by myself, in the birlocho. Had I taken to the saddle, it would have implied a want of confidence in the security of my own highly boasted workmanship.

We travelled between six and seven leagues over an indifferent road, amid grand and imposing scenery, and stopped for the night at a farmhouse on the skirt of a

* Rambler.

forest. Here, upon examining the carriage, I had the satisfaction of finding every thing as at setting out, not a single particle of the repairs having moved in the least. The adulation of capataz and peones not only pampered my own pride to excess, but banished from the minds of the provost and his disciple the exaggerated alarm with which they were impressed.

The place where we stopped was the centre of an estate called Monte Rico, of which I had heard much in the course of my enquiries about estates when at Jujui. The extent of this property, from north to south, is between three and four leagues, from east to west, not less than seven leagues, bounded by mountains on which are trees of all kinds of the finest timber, and in the plains all the products of the earth might be brought to perfection. But that which considerably added to the value of the estate of Monte Rico, before the revolution, was the traffic in mules, which, to the number of from five to eight thousand, were annually wintered here on their passage from Cordova to Peru, at the customary charge of one dollar each. A short time before the revolution, forty thousand dollars were *refused* for this estate; it may now be purchased for ten thousand.

We travelled for three days without any particular occurrence, through a country sometimes beautiful, sometimes drearily desolate; and on the 11th, when preparing to cross the river *Passage*, which at this season is forded without any risk, two travellers arrived from Tucuman, on their way to Peru; one of them, a Frenchman, bearing despatches from the government of Tucuman, in whose service he held the rank of lieutenant of cavalry, had been lately defeated by the troops of the rival provinces, which had formed a con-

federacy to oppose the system of government promulgated by the president of Buenos Ayres. But what occasioned us infinitely more concern than the defeat of the French officer, or any of the political events of the country, was the intimation which we received from the travellers, that we need not think of continuing our journey in a carriage, as the road onwards for five or six leagues "was utterly impassable for any vehicle upon wheels." I became alarmed, the provost desponded, and the student cried. While we three were probably thinking on whom to throw the blame of this disappointment, my capataz, a negro and a fine spirited fellow, said, he had often travelled the road to Buenos Ayres, and could not well imagine that there was any spot absolutely impassable for a carriage; "but if there is," added he, "here are many who will gladly engage to clear a passage for us, and if that is impracticable, we can unhang the carriage and carry it across the bad places." Taking the hint from my capataz, I immediately enlisted, at three rials each, a dozen stout hands, who, with our own peones, after having had a glass or two of aguardiente, declared themselves capable of carrying the birlocho to the summit of the Cordillera. Onward we proceeded, crossed the river with shouts of enthusiasm, as if about to attack an enemy over whom we felt assured of victory, but soon found that the French officer had not much exaggerated the state of the road; one pass, of about a mile, kept us in check upwards of four hours, and was accomplished only by dint of perseverance and the united efforts of eighteen men, encouraged by a liberal allowance of grog. At another place, so completely had the torrents in the last rainy season blocked up the road by huge rocks, that we were compelled to unhang the carriage and

carry it across, as the negro capataz had suggested. The provost of course did not join in the bodily labours of the day, but willingly contributed his spiritual aid, particularly at the spot where we were so long detained; there, while we were rolling away rocks and stones, felling trees and filling hollows, he preached a sermon on the advantages to be derived from industry, and selected his text from a passage in the works of Saint Bernard, how well adapted to our circumstances I pretend not to say. The sermon did not last above an hour and a half, at the conclusion of which the provost gave us all his benediction, and said—"Now, in peace will I lay myself down and rest:" then stretching himself in the shade of an *algaroba* tree, there he remained under the soft spell of sleep, until we awoke his reverence and apprised him that our labours were successfully finished. We then proceeded on our journey, and at night stopped at a comfortable farmhouse, having with great difficulty accomplished a distance of four leagues from sunrise to sunset.

12th. Delightful weather. The road, it may be supposed, was much improved, as we performed nearly thirty miles, to Conchas, a straggling village in the midst of a fertile country, where plenty is to be found. Formerly, cattle were so numerous here, that it was usual to send a person on before travellers to clear the road, on which the animals would lay themselves down, they being so fat that it was necessary to use the whip before they would move out of the way. At Conchas I met with an Englishman, a Londoner by birth, who, with another young man, had come to this country, each with a few hundred pounds, to seek his fortune, and, until a few months previous to my meeting him, had been extremely successful. They had collected

sundry kinds of merchandise, which they were preparing to carry to Buenos Ayres on mules, when happening to meet with Señor Soria—a well known enterprising man, who at that period was at Oran, on the point of embarking on the river Vermejo, in his praiseworthy expedition to prove the practicability of descending that river to the Parana, and thence to Buenos Ayres;—he (Señor Soria) offered to convey the Englishmen with their goods, *gratis*. Gladly availing themselves of an offer, by which they should not only spare the expense of a large troop of mules, but had every reason to expect a saving in time of at least fifteen days, they disposed of their animals and embarked all their property, which it was agreed one of them should accompany, whilst the other remained to follow up their mercantile pursuits. Señor Soria sailed, and continued his voyage prosperously down the river, until he arrived in Paraguay, the territory of the Dictator Francia, who for the last ten years has held that fine province in abject subjection to his capricious authority. On hearing of the expedition, he took measures to intercept it, and did so most effectually, by seizing the boat, and making Soria, his crew, and all his companions, prisoners, whom he marched into the interior, and there detains.

I was informed by the Englishman at Conchas, where he had been established about two years, that a good estate may be purchased in this neighbourhood for two thousand to four thousand dollars; he said, that any active person establishing himself here, with a capital of five thousand dollars, might be certain of making five times the sum in a few years by farming only. He himself had made an experiment on the growth of tobacco, which the year before had succeeded beyond his highest expectation, having at once yielded him a handsome return. This year, his young plants were destroyed

in a manner which I shall describe in his own words. "Aware," said he, "that '*a manada de langostas*,' (a swarm of locusts,) had made their appearance (which they generally do once in five or seven years) in distant parts of the country, and, having been told that they can be frightened away by noise and squibbing gunpowder, I made every preparation to guard against them, in the event of their paying a visit here; I even removed my tobacco plants from a distance to a plot of ground close to the house, where, in number forty thousand, the plants grew up well and vigorously to the height of about twelve inches above the ground, when one afternoon, during the hour of *siesta*, my major-domo ran into the house and called out, *Langostas! langostas! langostas!*—I jumped up and ran out in front of the house to see if they were near or distant, and there beheld them in a dense cloud all round us. I instantly returned for my pistols to squib off some gunpowder, whilst other persons who were present seized pots, and pans, and kettles, and whatever they could find with which to make a noise, but before any thing effectual could be done, the swarm became condensed immediately over the inclosure where the tobacco plants were flourishing in a bright luxuriant green, and, suddenly dropping like a heavy mass upon the top of them, covered the whole field as completely as if a brown mantle had been thrown over it. In about twenty seconds, I declare most solemnly," continued he, "that it could not have been *half a minute*, the swarm rose again from the ground as suddenly as they had lighted upon it and continued their flight, leaving the field of 40,000 plants without a vestige of one of them—literally as clean as if it had been swept with a broom."

13th. It is, I believe, natural to us all, to wish to see any person of great distinction, celebrity, or notoriety in the world; whether king, philosopher, hero, or mur-

derer, curiosity is equally eager to be gratified with a sight of him. I confess to this feeling, when I heard a by-stander exclaim, "Here he comes!" and instantly every eye was turned towards the road that passed the house, at the door of which we were all standing. I looked too, and saw a man of military appearance, well-mounted, cantering up to us. He stopped, and vaulted out of his saddle with an active spring, which was in no way impeded by a large dragoon-sabre that hung clattering by a long belt from his waist; the rein of his horse was grasped by a trooper who accompanied him, equipped cap-à-piè, with the arms and showy uniform of his deserted regiment, and was in truth a fine specimen of the "horse grenadier guards of Colombia." The former was Matute—a little man, about twenty-eight years of age, with regular features, and a keen black eye, dressed in a blue military frock. He approached and saluted the master of the house, with whom he had become related by marriage, and with whom, as a neighbour, he was now on terms of intimacy, for Matute had purchased a small estate a few miles distant, and had recently established himself upon it. He took not the least notice of the strangers, until he was told that I was an Englishman, when he accosted me in terms of welcome to the country, and, after a short conversation, he entered of his own accord on the subject of his late proceedings, and spoke very freely upon them. He related his hair-breadth escape from falling into Colonel O'Connor's ambuscade, and said that "in the end, he might have annihilated O'Connor and his whole force, but that his principal object was to preserve his own. However," continued he, "I confess I gave orders to my lancers to put my friend O'Connor *out of the way*, and reprimanded Torres when I heard that those orders were not obeyed." He was not the least

disconcerted at hearing that Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz was an envoy on a secret mission from that government which had offered a reward for his head; it is true, there was nothing in the manner or appearance of my friend the Provost to induce any person to imagine that *he* was seeking to obtain the reward; and, as a proof that Matute had no apprehension on the subject, he invited us to breakfast with him on the following morning: an invitation which, as our road passed close to his house, we accepted as frankly as it was given.

14th. At nine o'clock we arrived at Yatasto, formerly a post establishment, now the residence of Matute, who received us with much cordiality, and, conducting us into a decent saloon, there introduced us to his wife. The lady was fair and comely in person, about the age of twenty, but on her brow there was not even a vestige of that brightness which Hymen, in his festive hours, usually sheds on youth; neither was there any manifestation of that buoyancy of spirits which young hearts evince in the first transports of wedded love, when all the world to them is an Eden of happiness. As she sat in silence and apart, enveloped in her shawl, with her long black tresses hanging loosely down her shoulders, and strongly contrasting with her pallid countenance, I thought I could discern the hapless victim, not the joyous votary of love. Her husband an outlaw, guilty of the heaviest crimes, "a fugitive and vagabond on the earth;" herself rejected by parents, family, and friends, she seemed from her sad heart to sigh—

"Woe is my lot, and patience must be mine."

There was, in truth, a gloom of unhappiness in the scene and its associations, the influence of which it was impossible not to feel.

Among the attendants at the collation which was prepared, were two of his grenadiers, the last of his corps that remained with him; the greater number had been killed or wounded in the various battles and skirmishes in which they had been engaged after leaving Cochabamba, and the few survivors had latterly dispersed, each pursuing the road that seemed best adapted to his views. When about to take leave, Matute requested me to send him, by the first opportunity, any popular works on jurisprudence and political economy, in Spanish or in French. I asked him if he would not also wish to have some on war and military tactics, as applying more particularly to his own profession. "No," said he; "I know too much of war practically to have the least wish to trouble myself with its theory; besides, I am thoroughly convinced that, in war, determined bravery succeeds in nine cases out of ten, and therefore, in my opinion, books can teach us nothing on the subject."

We took leave,—but here I have to make a stride forward of three weeks or a month, in order to conclude the career of this gallant, restless, and intriguing spirit.

Soon tired of his rustic life among his peaceable country cousins, Matute returned to the city of Salta, and there endeavoured to raise a party to enable him to depose the governor, and restore himself to the office of commandant-general. He had no difficulty in enlisting in his cause a few of those desperate characters, who are generally to be found in large towns, and are always at the beck that invites them to booty and disorder. With these, and several soldiers whom he gained over, he was on the eve of executing his design, and of again convulsing the city with civil war, when his

plot was discovered, he himself taken prisoner, tried, condemned, and sentenced to be shot.

When on his way to the place of execution, he made a desperate struggle to escape from his guards, and nearly succeeded in mounting a horse, which an accomplice had in readiness to carry him off in the confusion that was expected to occur; but the officer of the guard performed his duty, and the soldiers under him, on arriving at the fatal spot, having obeyed the dread command—"Present! Fire!" in an instant five musket balls passed through the heart of Matute.

CHAPTER XV.

Treasure that formerly passed through Tucuman from the mines of Peru—Extreme heat in Santiago del Estero—Barbarous Indians—A Cordovese beauty—Recent discovery of silver mines in Cordova—A great man—Arrival at Buenos Ayres—Depression of the paper currency—Embark in H. M. packet Zephyr—Touch at Rio Janeiro—Arrival in England.

After travelling four days through a country beautifully picturesque, we arrived on the 18th day of August, without accident or incident, in the lately sacked city of Tucuman. Here we took up our quarters at a coffee-house in the great square, and found very good accommodation, and the kindest attention to our few wants. From the plenty of every commodity that was to be seen in the markets, a stranger could never have supposed that an enemy's army had retired from the neighbourhood only a few days before, after having levied contributions, driven off thousands of cattle, and committed divers excesses, such as cannot well be con-

ceived by those who have never witnessed the miseries of civil war.

When are the political commotions of this devoted country to cease? Must the present generation pass away before all the animosities of party are forgotten? Are those treasures, which lie here in superabundance on the surface of the earth, so truly said to be infinitely preferable to those which lie beneath it—are they, on account of incessant feuds, to continue unprofitable and utterly disregarded, when, in other climes, thousands are struggling to obtain, by a laborious life, a scanty supply of that which Nature, in her bounty, here plentifully and almost spontaneously bestows? These are questions which cannot be asked but with intense interest by those who have visited this country, and have had an opportunity of judging what *might be* the advantages to a great portion of mankind, under a good government, the steady friend and supporter of order, industry, and peace.

At Tucuman I became acquainted with Don Francisco, an Englishman, who had been a sailor, and deserted from the Diamond frigate at Buenos Ayres, twenty years before. He made his way to this city, where he married respectably, and had been ever since established as a *pulpero*,—i. e. a retail dealer in wines, spirits, groceries, hardware, earthenware, and “all that sort o’ thing, and every thing in the world.” He told me that, before the revolution he had “more money than he knew what to do with,” that “bags of dollars remained upon the shelves of his shop with much less thought about them than about bags of nails at the present day; but that the taxes and contributions of civil wars had nearly exhausted them all.” He also told me, that prior to the revolution, “thirty, forty, and even fifty carts, drawn each by four or six oxen, and laden

with dollars from Peru, passed every three months through Tucuman to Buenos Ayres, to be there shipped for Spain." I give the words of Don Francisco, though the fact is sufficiently notorious, and requires no corroboration; if it did, there are *other* British sailors, who, although they know nothing of the lading of the "bullock carts," can testify to the lading of *ships* with similar treasure.

It has often been to me a subject of surprise to hear many persons, because they had lost their money on the Stock Exchange, pertinaciously maintain that the mines of Peru are all exhausted, or no longer worth the expense of working. Others, who are disposed to admit that the political revolution of the country has not occasioned a revolution in nature, by changing the soil as suddenly as the government, maintain nevertheless that the *mita* (the forced labour in the mines by Indians) alone enabled the Spaniards to draw from them those immense treasures which were annually sent to Europe. But can those persons believe, in sober truth, that the silver mines of Peru will not admit of paying the wages of two shillings a day to the labourers for working them? And if they suppose that the *mita* was unattended with expense to the mine proprietors, they are in error, for that forced labour, taking in all the drawbacks attending it, was not more advantageous to the mine proprietors than free labour, at fair established wages, now proves to be.

23d. Resumed our seats in the birlocho, and leaving Tucuman, continued our journey with a plentiful stock of provisions, among which were two majestic turkeys boiled in wine, (a good *vin de pays*,) for the purpose of preserving them from the heat, which it did effectually: these noble creatures, fed entirely on Indian corn, cost, cooking included, seven dollars, (twenty-eight shillings,)

which cannot be considered extremely dear, when it is recollected that an invading army had lately been living here at free quarters, and had retired only a few days before, leaving the neighbourhood, to use the expression of the inhabitants, *limpia* !—(clean as a whistle !)

26th. Arrived at the poor desolate town of Santiago del Estero, where, in consequence of the destruction of the post establishments, we were compelled to remain two days, in order to contract for a troop of mules to convey us a distance of forty leagues. The province of Santiago produces excellent wheat, which I should not have expected where droughts are so excessive ; perhaps there is not a spot in South America where the effect of the sun is more powerful. During my residence in this quarter of the globe, I have chanced to experience the extreme of the heat and cold of the climate ; the latter I lately described when crossing the desert of Yavi, the former I mentioned when passing through this province eighteen months ago ; but I was not then aware of many particulars of that unusually hot summer. In Santiago, for three or four days in the month of December, there was, in addition to the customary excessive heat of that season of the year, a hot wind, which blistered the skin on the face and hands even of those who remained in doors. Leaves fell scorched from the trees, and the bark of several became cracked and shrivelled, just as if fire heat had been applied. Several of these trees so destroyed, I myself saw. The description which the natives gave of their sufferings and their feelings, under the apprehension of suffocation, was quite dreadful.

29th. Left Santiago, and in three days travelled about a hundred and twenty miles, for the most part in a deep sandy road, with great comfort to ourselves, for it appeared as if we rolled along upon a carpet, but the la-

hour was excessive to the poor beasts until we arrived at the post of Bajada, where, with fresh horses on a good road, we galloped with ease nine miles an hour for twelve leagues, to the village of Oratorio Grande. Here we were obliged to contract anew to be conveyed forward a distance of about 230 miles, and as the postmaster required a day to collect fifty or sixty horses for the purpose, we were detained until the morning of—

September 3d, when we proceeded, taking a different direction from that which I had formerly travelled, thereby avoiding the hills and stony roads which lead to Cordova by the regular post road. Our pace for about sixty miles was a continued gallop, on an excellent road, through a very fine fertile country, and at night we stopped at a gentleman's house, which was surrounded by a deep ditch with palisades, as a protection against the barbarous Indians, who some years ago used to commit dreadful ravages throughout this part of the country. We could not obtain any provisions or accommodation, as the family had retired only two days previously to our arrival, carrying off every thing, and driving their flocks and herds before them, on account of the Indians, who had made their appearance on the frontiers. The effect of this very unexpected information on Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz might have afforded a rich treat to any observer unconcerned in the subject; but the report, which like all other reports, lost nothing in its conveyance from mouth to mouth, was too alarmingly interesting to myself, to admit of any thing like a feeling of merriment at the extravagant despair of my friend. It was true I did not adopt his suggestion, to take horse and gallop back to Tucuman forthwith; nor had I altogether the apprehension of being roasted alive before morning; but, I was extremely active in hiring *Gauchos* to scour the

country and act as pickets wherever the barbarians might be expected to appear. I also carefully inspected our palisades, for fear of a siege, prepared our fire arms, of which a very few are sufficient for defence against hundreds of these lancer Indians, and bivouacked with the peones in the middle of the court, surrounded by several immense watch dogs belonging to the house. The night, however, passed away in perfect quiet, which enabled us all to rise with sufficient courage to continue our journey.

4th. Travelled sixteen leagues, through a fine fertile country, though sadly in want of water, which was so scarce that, at one place where we stopped, a dollar was demanded before our horses were allowed to drink at a green puddle.

We stopped for the night at "Puerto de la Luna," a single house; but being now in the district of Cordova, things assume a more improved appearance, and the traveller no longer finds any difficulty in obtaining among other necessaries, abundance of good rich milk. The houses, too, are cleaner, and the peasantry seem altogether in a greater degree of comfort than those among whom we had hitherto been.

5th. A journey of sixteen leagues brought us to the small hamlet of Simbolar. In the course of the day we took notice of a few rocks and stones which appeared in our road, the first we had seen in a distance of at least three hundred miles, including part of the province of Tucuman, the whole of Santiago del Estero, and part of Cordova; not a pebble did we see in that space until this day. Cordova is a remarkably fine province, producing a superabundance of different kinds of grain, and famous for its extensive pastures, in which the finest mules of South America are bred: the herds of cattle are also numerous; the price of a choice milch

cow at present is ten dollars; a horse may be had at a little more, indeed I have seen as much as thirty dollars paid for a fancy horse in prime condition. I was informed, that in the neighbourhood of Simbolar, "a small estate, with a tolerable house and some cattle, may be purchased for two thousand dollars.

6th. Travelled fourteen leagues to the excellent post of Sinsacate, where we again entered on the direct post road. All this part of the country, formerly the property of the Jesuits, is of the finest kind for cultivation and pasture.

7th. Arrived at the hotel of Señor Pizarro, in the city of Cordova: here we stopped three days, whilst our rickety vehicle underwent repairs at a coach manufactory recently established by a North American, who had expert French and German workmen, all of whom acknowledge, that an object of greater distress than our "*birlocho superior*" had never come under their hands. They could not believe that we had conveyed it, or that it had conveyed us, nearly eight hundred miles. "The last tooth in the head of that old negress opposite," said one of the French workmen, "is more secure in its position than any one of the spokes of these wheels"—many of which dropped out, when the knottings, wouldings, and splicings, were cut away with hatchets, the only way they could be got off, being as indissoluble as the Gordian knot.

An improvement of manners and general superiority of education in the female society of Cordova beyond that of Peru, cannot fail to strike every European after a residence in the latter. There is scarcely a house of respectability here, in which there is not an English piano forte, with the latest musical productions of Europe, performed in a manner highly creditable to the young ladies, who are in general very handsome, and

have the character of making excellent wives. I felt myself attracted, morning, noon, and night, to the house of the governor of the province, not only by the kind attentions which I received from him and his amiable lady, but, if I judge rightly, for the secret pleasure of indulging in the sunshine of the soul-enlivening eyes of their only daughter, a charming girl, a stranger to the world's wiles, and fresh as the floweret, when unfolding its beauties to the spring—or, as the poet says, for love is always poetical,

“Like the rose stirring her young leaves apart,
To hail the first breeze of the balmy south.”

During my stay in Cordova, several persons called on me with specimens of silver ore, from a recently discovered metalliferous deposit in the province, and as I was known to be a *Señor Secretario* of a mining concern, proposals were made to me of a nature so inviting, and from quarters so respectable, that I was induced to extend my enquiries on the subject, in order to ascertain beyond a doubt the authenticity of those representations. Having done so in a most satisfactory manner, it only remains to be assured of the protection of the government, in the event of the views of our Association being directed at some future period to the province of Cordova.

My short stay in Cordova did not admit of my paying a visit to the mines, but I saw several specimens of the ores, and also several masses of silver extracted from them. If that question, which I have so frequently heard put by those who know nothing of the state of things in this country, be asked—“Why don't the natives avail themselves of the boasted riches of their soil, if they really exist?”—those who have travelled through South America will not hesitate in giving the true an-

swer, namely, "Because they have no capital." This want is severely felt throughout the country, which, of late years, has been literally drained in every possible way of the precious metals, whilst the mines, that formerly kept up the supply, not only for South America, but for the whole world, have been abandoned in the revolution, and the working of them has never since been formally resumed, owing to the want of capital. The sum of sixty or seventy thousand dollars would be sufficient to commence working the mines of Cordova on a respectable scale. And if, upon farther survey by competent persons, they should be found to answer the notions entertained of them, the local advantages are such as to make it no very hazardous assertion, that, in this case, they would be as promising a mining speculation as any in the world.

11th. Left Cordova, having still upwards of 500 miles to perform to Buenos Ayres, but our road being over the smooth surface of the pampas, we travelled at the rate of thirty to forty leagues a day, without seeing any thing to attract attention, except the immense herds of cattle that range over the boundless extent. On the unvaried sameness of this vast plain, it has been rightly observed, that the traveller longs again to see trees, hills, and valleys, and the wild course of torrents; but no variation whatever is visible, neither is there any indication of the existence of man in the intervals between post and post.

16th. Stopped at the post of Arecife, the master of which is probably the greatest man in the New World, if size and weight constitute greatness. He seldom walks above a few yards from the door of his house, and then drags a chair with him for the convenience of immediate rest. Of the importance of his person he seems himself to be fully aware, as are all the vassals of his domain, for he employs it occasionally as a punishment for the

idle and refractory. When a culprit is brought before him, he orders him to lie upon the ground, and then seats himself upon him and smokes a cigar, or perhaps two, according to the nature of the offence; and the poor groaning wretch can no more move under the weight than if buried beneath Mount Athos. The protuberance of this great man's stomach is so large, that the hands of others are required to adjust the buttons of his waistcoat and nether garment, it being impossible for his own to meet for that purpose. He is married to a respectable and good-looking woman, by whom he has three very fine children. We may reasonably suppose that, as a Gaucho, he is in easy circumstances, from the simple fact that he has at this day upwards of ten thousand head of horned cattle, sheep, and horses, grazing on the pampas round his premises.

18th. Hard frost, and piercing cold morning, which, eighteen months ago, when broiling in the heat on these same Pampas, I did not think could ever be the case here; both ice and cold, however, soon yield to the influence of the sun before he reaches the meridian. In the afternoon we discerned in the distant horizon the domes, cupolas, and steeples, which, to our heartfelt joy, denoted the anxiously wished-for termination of our long journey. On approaching Buenos Ayres, we were compelled to make a circuit, to find a road by which to enter the city without the danger of leaving our vehicle in a mud-hole, the heavy rains which had fallen, but which we escaped, having rendered the roads in many places impassable.

The *assignats* at the commencement of the French Revolution could scarcely have been in worse credit than we found the paper money of Buenos Ayres, *billetes del Banco*, which inundated the whole province. Specie had altogether disappeared from circulation, and

was used only as a distinct object of purchase and sale; the prices of doubloons and dollars being entered in the daily papers as regularly as the prices of all articles of merchandise. Doubloons had risen from their usual rate of seventeen dollars to seventy, seventy-five, and eighty, paper currency, whilst the silver dollars had risen to the price of four of paper. Don Manuel Martin and I at first imagined that it would prove a fortune to us both to get four dollars for one; we therefore changed most of our silver for paper: but, when we sallied forth to procure some few necessities for the embellishment of our persons, we discovered our mistake, and found that it was possible for a man to be poor at Buenos Ayres with pockets full of the money of the country. My first purchase was the usual one of all travellers when they arrive in a capital after a long journey—a hat, which it is conceived gives at once a genteel and agreeable finish to the appearance. The price of this article here had hitherto been about eight or nine dollars; this, according to Don Manuel's calculation and mine, would to us be a cheap article; we therefore fitted and approved, each to his fancy, the very best *Londres* hat. "What is the price of this?" said I. "That, sir," said the shopkeeper, "you shall have—just allow me to look at the quality—you shall have it, sir, for six-and-thirty dollars."—"Why!" said I, "I thought the price was only eight!"—"Oh! sir," said the shopkeeper, "if you pay in *cash*, you may have it with pleasure for seven." The provost, astonished at the price, as he looked at himself in the glass, with a hat which he had selected, asked—"What is the price of this?" "That I can afford to let your reverence have for forty dollars, or, if your reverence thinks fit, for ten in silver, which I leave entirely at the option of your reverence," said the shopkeeper, making a bow and smiling, as

from a feeling of generosity, at the act of kindness which he considered he was conferring on his customer. "What do you say, man?" asked the provost, with a frown, though he had heard distinctly enough at first; but the shopkeeper was too civil not to repeat his demand, and too honest not to adhere to his original offer. "But, why should the price of this hat so much exceed that of the other?" said the provost. "Because," replied the shopkeeper, "it so much exceeds the other in size; your reverence will please to observe, that there is as much in the broad brim of this clerical hat, as would make two hats such as that cavallero has chosen." The fact was evident, and could not be denied; but, it being the fashionable hat of the clergy of this country, it seemed that the Provost of the College of Chuquisaca had determined not to be surpassed even by a single inch in the broadest brim of the largest hat of any provost in the city of Buenos Ayres. So, paying down our new dollars, away we went with our new hats, much better pleased with ourselves than with our bargains.

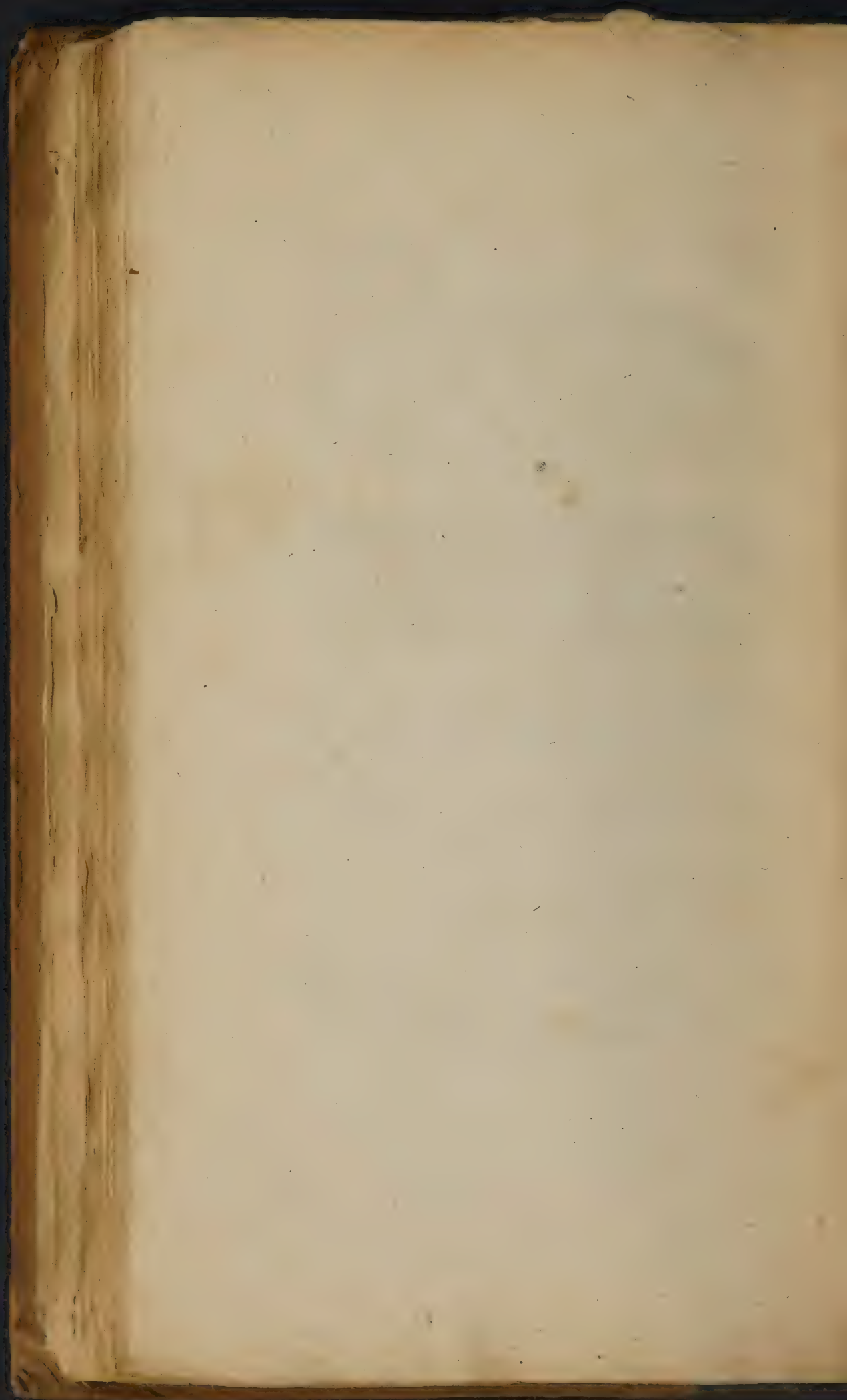
Our next call was on a tailor, where, instead of thirty dollars, as formerly, for a plain frock coat, I was now asked one hundred and twenty. With respect to Don Manual Martin de la Santa Cruz, it would have moved the hardest heart, to witness his dismay, when he was informed that it would cost him at the least sixty, and probably, sixty-five dollars, to replace his blue breeches by a new pair of black. In vain he represented that they had cost him only five dollars in the city of Chuquisaca; in vain he boasted, in proof of their value, that they had been in constant wear for two years and a half, which, indeed, the tailor readily believed, but he would not abate half a dollar of his demand. It would have moved, I say, the hardest heart, to witness the look of despair with which the provost surveyed the wear and

tear occasioned by a journey of seventeen hundred miles, and which made it absolutely necessary, on the score of common decency, (and the provost is really a decent man,) to replace the blue breeches at any cost. He very honestly observed that, although they had so long passed, and might probably again pass, unnoticed among the Indians of Peru, there was a something in their appearance that did not accord with the dignity of an ambassador in the city of Buenos Ayres; therefore, lifting up the long skirts of his coat for the facility of the tailor, he submitted to be measured on the spot for a new pair of superfine black cloth at sixty-two dollars.

October 15th. I embarked in his majesty's packet brig Zephyr, and sailed for Monte Video, and thence to Rio Janeiro, where we arrived on the 5th of November. The magnificent scenery of this noble harbour fully equalled all that I had ever heard in its praise, and far surpassed any thing that print or panorama is capable of representing. On landing, however, I was not much surprised at finding an ultra-marine Portuguese city to be a mean, dirty town, with bad hotels, and bad accommodation. The bustle of trade and business is certainly considerable, and the most striking feature to an Englishman on first landing, is the great number of half-naked negro slaves, who are every where to be met with; some dragging small low carriages laden with merchandise, others carrying bales upon their heads, or employed in some laborious service; but there was nothing, in appearance at least, to indicate unhappiness, for they all seemed to work with great willingness and glee, singing in loud concert a stanza of some wild song, as they trotted in groups under their burdens through the streets. The scene was very different at the slave-market, to which curiosity induced me to pay a morning visit; there all appeared disconsolate and unhappy. On enter-

ing the apartment where the slave merchants keep their merchandise for sale, I saw about a hundred and fifty miserable beings lying on the ground, with a woollen rug; their only clothing, round each. When the keeper observed me enter, he cracked a whip, at the sound of which all the slaves instantly jumped up from the ground, and ranged themselves in ranks, men, women, and children, separately. The keeper, supposing I was a purchaser, then beckoned to those, who in his opinion had the best appearance, and were in the best condition; these came forward, and were made to turn round, walk, jump, and raise their arms and legs, to show that they were sound; their mouths were opened, to show that their teeth were also sufficiently sound to chew the toughest meat. The keeper then talked of their good appetites, and set forth all their promising qualities, and, in the prices, which varied according to good looks, from two hundred to three hundred and fifty dollars, we higgled, just as for any other marketable article.

After remaining a week at Rio Janeiro, we weighed our anchor for the last time, and, after a favourable voyage of forty-five days, arrived, on the 26th of December, in the harbour of Falmouth.





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